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No. 3

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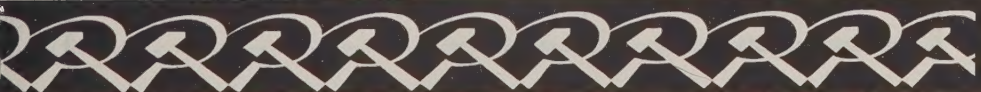
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THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

ORGAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

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Three Peculiarities of the Red Army*

BY JOSEPH STALIN

COMRADES! Allow me, in the name of the Central Committee of our Party, to greet the fighters in our Red Army, the fighters in our Red Fleet, the fighters in our Red Air Fleet and, finally, our recruits, the armed workers of the Soviet Union.

The Party is proud that it has succeeded, with the help of the workers and peasants, in creating the first Red Army in the world, which in tremendous fights has helped and defended the freedom of the workers and of the peasants.

The Party is proud that the army has succeeded in pursuing with honor the hard way of fierce fights against the inner and outer enemies of the working class and of the peasantry of our country, that it has succeeded in developing into a powerful revolutionary fighting force, to the terror of the enemies of the working class and the joy of the oppressed and enslaved.

The Party is proud that the Red Army is pursuing the long road of the emancipation of the workers and peasants from the yoke of the big landowners and of the capitalists and, finally, has won the right to celebrate its jubilee on the tenth anniversary of its existence.

Comrades, wherein consists the strength, wherein lies the source of power of our Red Army? Wherein consist those peculiarities which distinguish our Red Army from all armies which have existed at any time in the world?

Wherein consist those peculiarities which form the source of strength and power of our Red Army?

The *first and fundamental peculiarity* of our Red Army consists in the fact that it is the army of the emancipated workers and peasants, that it is the army of the October Revolution, the army of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

All armies that have existed up to now, no matter what their composition may have been, are armies for the consolidation of the power of capital. They were and remain armies of the rule of capital. The bourgeoisie of all countries lie when they say that the army is politically neutral. That is not true.

In the bourgeois states the army is deprived of political rights, it is removed from the political arena. That is true. But this does not at all mean that it is politically neutral. On the contrary. Always and everywhere, in all capitalist countries, the army has been and is drawn into political struggle in order to serve as a tool for suppressing the workers. Is it not true that in the capitalist countries the army suppresses the workers, that it serves as a support of the master class?

In contradistinction to such armies, our Red Army has the peculiarity that it is an instrument for consolidating the power of the workers and peasants, an instrument for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, an instrument for emancipating the workers and peasants from the yoke of the big landowners and capitalists. Our army is an army for the emancipation of the toilers.

Have you, comrades, noticed that in

* Speech delivered at the plenum of the Moscow Soviet on February 23, 1928, on the occasion of the Tenth Anniversary of the Red Army.

the old times, and even now in the capitalist countries, the people were afraid of and still are afraid of the army, that between the people and the army there exists a barrier which separates the army from the people? How is it with us, however? With us, on the contrary, the army and the people form a whole, a family. Nowhere in the world are there such affectionate and touching relations between the people and the army as with us. With us the army is loved, respected and cared for. Why? Because for the first time in the history of the world the workers and peasants have created their own army which serves not the masters but the one-time slaves, the workers and peasants who are now free. Therein consists the source of power of our Red Army.

What, however, does the love of the people to its army mean? It means that such an army will have a very powerful support in the rear, that such an army is invincible. What is an army without a powerful support in the rear? Nothing. The greatest armies, the most well-armed armies have crumbled to nothing without a powerful support in the rear, without the support and sympathy of the people at home, of the working population. Our army is the only army in the world which has the sympathy and the support of the workers and peasants. Therein consists its power, therein consists its strength.

That it is which before all distinguishes our Red Army from all other armies which have existed and still exist in the world.

It is the wish and the task of the Party that these peculiarities of the Red Army, that its closeness to, its brotherly connection with, the workers and peasants shall be maintained and strengthened.

The *second peculiarity* of our army consists in that it, our army, is an army of fraternity among the peoples, an army for the emancipation of the oppressed peoples, an army for the defense of the freedom and of the independence of the peoples in our country.

In the old time the armies were usually trained in the spirit of chauvinism, in the spirit of love of conquest, in the spirit of the necessity of subjugating alien peoples. That is the reason why the armies of the old type, the capitalist armies, were at the same time colonial armies. Therein consists one of the chief weaknesses of the old army. Our army differs fundamentally from colonial armies. Its whole nature, its entire structure, is based upon the strengthening of the bonds of friendship between the peoples of our country, upon the idea of the emancipation of the suppressed peoples, upon the idea of the defense of the liberty and the independence of the Socialist Republics belonging to the Soviet Union.

Therein lies the second and main source of power and strength of our Red Army. Therein consists that guarantee that our army will, at the critical moment, find the greatest support among the million masses of all peoples and races inhabiting our vast country.

The wishes of the Party and its task consist in maintaining and consolidating this peculiarity of our Red Army.

Finally, the *third peculiarity* of our Red Army. It consists in the spirit of internationalism, in the feeling of internationalism which permeates our whole Red Army. In the capitalist countries the armies are generally educated in the feeling of hatred of other peoples, in the spirit of hatred of the workers and peasants of other countries. Why is this the case? In order to convert the armies into a sheep-like crowd in the event of military collisions between the states, between the powers, between the countries. Therein consists the source of weakness of all capitalist armies.

Our army is built up on a quite different basis. The strength of our Red Army, comrades, consists in the fact that from the very day of its inception it has been educated in the spirit of respect for other peoples, in the spirit of love and respect for the workers of all countries, in the spirit of maintaining and consolidating peace between the countries. And pre-

cisely because our army is educated in the spirit of internationalism, in the spirit of unity of interests of the workers of all countries, precisely for this reason is it that our army is an army of world revolution, an army of the workers of all countries. And that this circumstance constitutes a source of power and strength to our army, the bourgeoisie of all countries will learn whenever they decide to attack our country; for then they will see that our Red Army, educated in the spirit of internationalism, possesses a countless host of friends and allies in all parts of the world, from Shanghai to New York, from London to Calcutta.

The wishes and the tasks of our Party

consist in likewise maintaining and consolidating this peculiarity of our army.

It is thanks to these three peculiarities that our army knows where it is going, that it does not consist of tin soldiers but of conscious human beings who understand where they are going and for what they are fighting.

But an army that knows what it is fighting for is invincible.

Therefore our Red Army has all the prerequisites to be the best army in the world.

Long live our great army! Long live its fighters! Long live its leaders! Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat, which created the Red Army, gave it the victory and crowned it with glory!

A Letter From Comrade Ivanov and Comrade Stalin's Reply

IVANOV'S LETTER

To Comrade Stalin from Ivan Philipovich Ivanov, staff propagandist of the Manturovsk district committee of the Young Communist League, Kursk Region.

DEAR Comrade Stalin: I earnestly request you to explain the following question: In the local districts here, and even in the regional committee of the Young Communist League, a two-fold conception prevails about the final victory of socialism in our country, that is, the first group of contradictions is confused with the second. In your works on the destiny of socialism in the U.S.S.R., you speak of two groups of contradictions—internal and external.

As for the first group of contradictions, of course, we have solved them—within the country socialism is victorious. I would like to receive a reply on the second group of contradictions, that is, those between the land of socialism and capitalism. You point out that the final victory of socialism implies the solution of the external contradictions, that we must be fully guaranteed against intervention, and, consequently, against the restoration of capitalism. But this group of contradictions can be solved only by the efforts of the workers of all countries.

Besides, Comrade Lenin taught us that "we can achieve final victory only on a world scale, only by the joint efforts of the workers of all countries."

While attending the seminary for staff

propagandists at the regional committee of the Y.C.L., basing myself on your works, I said that the final victory of socialism is possible only on a world scale; but the leading regional committee workers—Urozhenko (first secretary of the regional committee) and Kazelkov (propaganda instructor)—characterized my statement as a Trotskyist deviation.

I began to read to them passages from your works on this question, but Urozhenko ordered me to close the book and said, "Comrade Stalin said this in 1926, but we are now in 1938; at that time we did not have final victory, but now we have it and there is now no need for us to worry at all about intervention and restoration." Then he went on to say, "We have now the final victory of socialism and the full guarantee against intervention and the restoration of capitalism." And so I was looked upon as an abettor of Trotskyism and removed from propaganda work, and the question was raised whether I was fit to remain in the Y.C.L.

Please, Comrade Stalin, will you explain whether or not we yet have the final victory of socialism. Perhaps there is additional contemporary material on this question connected with recent changes that I have not yet come across.

Also I think that Urozhenko's statement that Comrade's Stalin's works on this question are somewhat out-of-date is an anti-Bolshevik one.

Are the leading workers of the regional committee right in looking upon

me as a Trotskyist? I feel very much hurt and offended over this.

I hope, Comrade Stalin, that you will grant my request and reply to: Ivan Philipovich Ivanov, Manturovsk District, Kursk Region, First Zazemsky Village Soviet.

(Signed) I. IVANOV.

Jan. 18, 1938.

STALIN'S REPLY

TO Comrade Ivan Philipovich Ivanov: Of course you are right, Comrade Ivanov, and your ideological opponents, Comrades Urozhenko and Kazelkov, are wrong.

And for the following reasons:

Undoubtedly the question of the victory of socialism in one country, in this case of our country, has *two different* sides.

The *first* side of the question of the victory of socialism in our country embraces the problem of the mutual relations between the classes in our country. This concerns the sphere of *internal* relations. Can the working class of our country overcome the contradictions with our peasantry and establish an alliance, a collaboration with them? Can the working class of our country in alliance with our peasantry smash the bourgeoisie of our country, deprive it of the land, factories, mines, etc., and by its own efforts build a new classless society, a complete socialist society?

These are the problems connected with the *first* side of the question of the victory of socialism in our country.

Leninism answers these problems in the affirmative. Lenin teaches that "*we have all that is necessary for building a complete socialist society.*" Hence we can and must by our own efforts overcome our bourgeoisie and build a socialist society.

Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev and those other gentlemen who later became spies and agents of fascism denied that it was possible to build socialism in our country

unless the victory of the socialist revolution was first achieved in other countries, in the capitalist countries. As a matter of fact, these gentlemen wanted to turn our country back to the path of bourgeois development, and they concealed their apostasy by hypocritically talking about the "victory of the revolution" in other countries. This was precisely the point of controversy between our Party and these gentlemen. Our country's subsequent course of development proved that the Party was right and that Trotsky and Company were wrong. For during this period we succeeded in liquidating our bourgeoisie, in establishing fraternal collaboration with our peasantry, and in building, in the main, socialist society, notwithstanding the fact that the socialist revolution has not yet been victorious in other countries.

This is the position in regard to the *first* side of the question of the victory of socialism in our country.

I think, Comrade Ivanov, that it is not this side of the question that is the point of controversy between you and Comrades Urozhenko and Kazelkov.

The *second* side of the question of the victory of socialism in our country embraces the problem of mutual relations between our country and the other countries, capitalist countries; the problem of the mutual relations between the working class of our country and the bourgeoisie of other countries. This concerns the sphere of *external, international* relations. Can the victorious socialism of one country, which is encircled by many strong capitalist countries, regard itself as being fully guaranteed against the danger of military invasion—intervention—and, hence, against attempts to restore capitalism in our country? Can our working class and our peasantry, by their own efforts, without the serious assistance of the working class in capitalist countries, overcome the bourgeoisie of other countries in the same way as we overcame our own bourgeoisie? In other words: can we regard the victory of socialism in our country as final, that

is, as being free from the danger of military attack and of attempts to restore capitalism, assuming that socialism is victorious only in one country and that the capitalist encirclement continues to exist?

These are the problems connected with the *second* side of the question of the victory of socialism in our country.

Leninism answers these problems in the negative. Leninism teaches that:

"The final victory of socialism, in the sense of the complete guarantee against the restoration of bourgeois relations, is possible only on an international scale." (Resolution of the Fourteenth Party Conference of the C.P.S.U.)

This means that the serious assistance of the international proletariat is a force without which the problem of the final victory of socialism in one country cannot be solved. This, of course, does not mean that we must sit with folded arms and wait for assistance from outside. On the contrary, the assistance of the international proletariat must be combined with our work to strengthen the defense of our country, to strengthen the Red Army and the Red Navy, to mobilize the whole country for the purpose of resisting military attack and attempts to restore bourgeois relations.

This is what Lenin says on this score:

"We are living not merely in a state, but in a *system of states*, and it is inconceivable that the Soviet Republic should continue to exist for a long period side by side with imperialist states. Ultimately, one or the other must conquer. Meanwhile, a number of terrible clashes between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states is inevitable. This means that if the proletariat, as the ruling class, wants to and will rule, it must prove this also by military organization." *

And further:

"We are surrounded by people, classes and governments which openly express

their hatred for us. We must remember that we are at all times but a hair's breath from invasion." *

This is said sharply and strongly, but honestly and truthfully, without embellishment, as Lenin was able to speak.

On the basis of these premises, Stalin stated in *Problems of Leninism* that:

"The final victory of socialism is the complete guarantee against attempted intervention, and that means against restoration, for any serious attempt at restoration can take place only with serious support from outside, only with the support of international capital. Hence the support of our revolution by the workers of all countries and, still more, the victory of the workers in at least several countries, is a necessary condition for fully guaranteeing the first victorious country against attempts at intervention and restoration, a necessary condition for the final victory of socialism." **

Indeed, it would be ridiculous and stupid to close our eyes to the capitalist encirclement and to think that our external enemies, the fascists, for example, will not, if the opportunity arises, make an attempt at a military attack upon the U.S.S.R. Only blind braggarts or masked enemies who desire to lull the vigilance of our people can think like that. No less ridiculous would it be to deny that, in the event of the slightest success of military intervention, the interventionists would try to destroy the Soviet system in the districts they occupied and restore the bourgeois system. Did not Denikin and Kolchak restore the bourgeois system in the districts they occupied? Are the fascists any better than Denikin or Kolchak? Only blockheads or masked enemies, who by their boastfulness want to conceal their hostility and are striving to demobilize the people, can deny the danger of military intervention and

* *Collected Works*, Vol. XXVII, p. 117, Russian edition.

** Joseph Stalin, *Leninism*, Vol. I, p. 209, International Publishers, New York.

* *Collected Works*, Vol. XXIV, p. 122, Russian edition.

of attempts at restoration as long as the capitalist encirclement exists. Can the victory of socialism in one country be regarded as final if this country is encircled by capitalism, and if it is not fully guaranteed against the danger of intervention and restoration? Clearly it cannot.

This is the position in regard to the question of the victory of socialism in one country.

It follows that this question contains two different problems: (a) the problem of the *internal* relations in our country, that is, the problem of overcoming our bourgeoisie and building complete socialism, and (b) the problem of the *external* relations of our country, that is, the problem of completely insuring our country against the dangers of military intervention and restoration.

We have already solved the first problem, for our bourgeoisie has already been liquidated and socialism has already been built in the main. That is what we call the victory of socialism or, to be more exact, the victory of socialist construction in one country. We could say that this victory is final if our country were situated on an island and if it were not surrounded by numerous other capitalist countries. But as we are living not on an island, but "in a system of states," a considerable number of which are hostile to the land of socialism and create the danger of intervention and restoration, we say openly and honestly that the victory of socialism in our country is not yet final.

But from this it follows that the second problem is not yet solved and that it has yet to be solved. More than that, the second problem cannot be solved in the way that we solved the first problem, that is, solely by the efforts of our country. The second problem can be solved only by combining the serious efforts of the international proletariat with the still more serious efforts of the whole of our Soviet people. The international proletarian ties between the working class of the U.S.S.R. and the working class in

bourgeois countries must be increased and strengthened; the political assistance of the working class in the bourgeois countries for the working class of our country must be organized in the event of a military attack on our country; and also every assistance of the working class of our country for the working class in bourgeois countries must be organized; our Red Army, Red Navy, Red Air Fleet and the Chemical and Air Defense Society must be increased and strengthened to the utmost. The whole of our people must be kept in a state of mobilization and preparedness in the face of the danger of military attack, so that no "accident" and no tricks on the part of our external enemies may take us by surprise. . . .

From your letter it is evident that Comrade Urozhenko adheres to different and not quite Leninist conceptions. He asserts, it appears, that "we now have the final victory of socialism and full guarantee against intervention and restoration of capitalism." There cannot be the slightest doubt that Comrade Urozhenko is fundamentally wrong. Comrade Urozhenko's assertion can be explained only by his failure to understand the surrounding reality and his ignorance of the elementary propositions of Leninism, or by the empty boastfulness of a conceited young bureaucrat.

If it is true that "we have full guarantees against intervention and the restoration of capitalism," then why do we need a strong Red Army, Red Navy, Red Air Fleet, a strong Chemical and Air Defense Society, more and stronger ties with the international proletariat? Would it not be better to spend the billions that now go for the purpose of strengthening the Red Army on other needs and to reduce the Red Army to the utmost, or even to dissolve it altogether? People like Comrade Urozhenko, even if subjectively they are loyal to our cause, are objectively dangerous to it because by their boastfulness they, willingly or unwillingly—it makes no difference!—lull the vigilance of our

people, demobilize the workers and peasants and help the enemies to take us by surprise in the event of international complications.

As for the fact that it appears that you, Comrade Ivanov, have been "removed from propaganda work and the question has been raised of your fitness to remain in the Y.C.L.," you have nothing to fear. If the people in the regional committee of the Y.C.L. really want to imitate Chekov's Sergeant Prishibeyev, you can be sure that they will lose in this game. Prishibeyevs are not liked in our country.

Now you can judge whether the passage from the book *Problems of Leninism* on the victory of socialism in one country is out-of-date or not. I myself would very much like it to be out-of-date, I would like unpleasant things like the capitalist encirclement, the danger of military attack, the danger of the restoration of capitalism, etc., to be things of the past. Unfortunately, however, these unpleasant things still exist.

(Signed) J. STALIN.

February 12, 1938.

The Communist International Greet the Twentieth Anniversary of the Red Army

THE Executive Committee of the Communist International sends ardent greetings to the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army and Navy on their twentieth anniversary.

The entire glorious twenty years path of the Red Army has been a path of valor and heroism. Established in the fire of the great socialist revolution and the civil war under the direct leadership of Lenin and Stalin, the Red Army achieved unforgettable victories over the White Guard armies of the counter-revolutionary generals and foreign interventionists. Since then the Red Army has steadfastly guarded the liberty and independence of victorious socialism.

The achievements of the Red Army in the field of technical equipment and mastery of modern military technique are great, its successes in the sphere of training splendid leaders are likewise great.

The heroic Red Army is the pride not only of the Soviet people, but also of the entire international proletariat. It is deservedly loved not only by the working people of the Soviet, but also by the working people of all lands.

In the shape of the Red Army, the Soviet and international working class possesses the first socialist army in the world, the defender of the rule of the working people liberated from exploitation.

At the same time, the Red Army is a powerful bulwark of world peace; it "has been trained from the very first day of its existence in the spirit of internationalism, in the spirit of love and respect for the workers of all lands, in

the spirit of maintenance of peace among the peoples." (Stalin.)

It is impossible to defend peace by pacifist declarations. This has never been so clear as at the present moment, when the criminal fascist aggressors are already waging bandit wars in Spain and China, and are brazenly displaying their further robber plans, threatening the liberty of all peace-loving peoples.

Had it not been for the powerful Red Army of the U.S.S.R. and the international mass movement for peace, the fascist adventurers of Berlin, Rome and Tokio would undoubtedly have set alight the flames of war throughout the world.

Therefore every supporter of peace, every sincere friend of the Soviet Union greets today the might of the invincible Red Army.

And the backbone of the strength of the Red Army is the love and support both of the masses of the people of the U.S.S.R. and of the working people of the whole world.

The international working class knows that the Red Army is trained in the spirit of the unity of the interests of the workers of all lands, that it is strong in the socialist consciousness of its men and commanders. That is why it is the army of the workers of all lands.

The out-and-out enemies of the international proletariat, the fascists and their crushed Trotskyist-Bukharinist agents, strove in vain to shake the fighting power of the Red Army.

By means of incessant diatribe and slander, the capitalists and their lackeys strive to destroy the bonds between the working class of the U.S.S.R. and the

workers of other countries, in order to deprive both of mutual support in the struggle against war and fascism.

All the more necessary is it precisely now to strengthen the fraternal bonds of the workers of all the capitalist countries with the Soviet working class, and to achieve, as rapidly as possible, the establishment of united action by the international labor movement in defense of the Spanish and Chinese peoples, in defense of the working people of the capitalist countries against the offensive of fascism, in defense of world peace.

Let the fascist warmongers take note that should they dare to attack the land of Soviets, the international working class will be able to mobilize all its forces in defense of the U.S.S.R. The fascist vultures and their accomplices will see that there are millions of friends and allies of the heroic Red Army in their countries, ready to rise up against fascism, barbarism and capitalism.

There are no forces of war and reaction which can withstand the united forces of the international proletariat

and the working people of the Soviet Union. The guarantee of the steady assurance of the victory of the working people of all lands is their boundless love for the U.S.S.R., as the bulwark of socialism, peace and the freedom of nations.

The guarantee of the victory of the working people over capitalist reaction is Soviet patriotism and the boundless devotion of the Red Army to the cause of proletarian internationalism.

The guarantee of this is the entire revolutionary experience and the correctness, confirmed by world-historic successes, of the Marxist-Leninist policy of the Party of the Bolsheviks, the organizer and leader of the Red Army.

The guarantee of this is the leadership of the great Stalin, builder of the Red Army, creator of its might, genius of its legendary victories, and inspirer of its heroism.

Long live the Red Army, the army of the working people of all lands.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

How to Prepare a Report on the International Situation

BY D. Z. MANUILSKY

YOU have to prepare a report on the international situation.* In your hands you have a pile of newspapers for the last two weeks. They contain quite an amount of informative material dealing with international political life. Here you have a report about a visit of Delbos, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Prague and Bucharest; the suspicious visit of Lord Halifax to Berlin; the defeat of the Rumanian government at the elections; a report about the beginning of the economic crisis in the U.S.A.; a description of the ferocity of the Japanese on their entry into Nanking; war bulletins from Spain and China; the reaction of the world press to the Supreme Soviet elections held on December 12, etc.

The inexperienced speaker is "overwhelmed" by this variety of material; he is snowed under by it.

What has he to do, what to seize hold of, where to begin? The facts reported in the press are of varying significance. Some material is more important, others less so. The first and chief part of the work of a speaker is to select what is *most important* in characterizing the international situation, and to give facts of secondary importance a role subordinate to the *main features* of the international situation. Let us try to do this on the basis of a characterization of the present international situation.

Here we have a report about the economic crisis in the U.S.A. This is some-

thing new, something that did not exist three to four months ago. Is this a big event in the life of the capitalist world? It is a *very big* one. The speaker cannot pass it over. The U.S.A. is the biggest country of the capitalist world. An economic crisis in such a country cannot fail to influence world capitalist economy, cannot but be reflected in the foreign policy of the capitalist powers. You will remember that the world economic crises of 1920 and 1929 began in the U.S.A., that one may presume that the other capitalist countries will also be drawn into the present crisis in the U.S.A. We also know that economic crises sharpen class contradictions, that the capitalists make use of crises to attack the working class, that the workers fight back in answer to this offensive; we know that the capitalists seek a way out of the crisis in fascism and imperialist wars, while the working people seek a way out of consolidating their forces for the struggle against fascism and imperialist wars, that the working people are becoming increasingly convinced of the need to overthrow the capitalist system. Therefore the speaker will make no mistake if he notes down the economic crisis in the U.S.A. as one of the *main features* of the present international situation.

The second main feature is the robber war being waged by the Japanese imperialists in China and by the Germano-Italian interventionists in Spain. Every speaker knows that the workers are concerned about the events in China and Spain. At the present time this is the

* From a talk with a group of public speakers in the early part of February.

kernel of all speeches on the international situation. The war in Spain and China sharpens the entire international situation, creates the menace of a new world imperialist war. The speaker writes down the second point: *war in Spain and China, and the acute sharpening of the danger of a new world imperialist war.*

He begins to analyze this, to investigate the connection between these main points and others. The economic crisis is coming to a head and the war danger has increased to an exceptional degree. The question arises: what are the workers, the working people generally, doing in the struggle against the gathering danger of war and fascism? The war in Spain and China is not a one-sided act. The Spanish and Chinese peoples are waging a heroic struggle against the fascist bandits. For it should be borne in mind that a big war is taking place both in the West and in the Far East. You know what is happening around Teruel, what is taking place in China. In other countries a struggle is also going on against fascism and the war danger. Thus from the first two points the following third point automatically arises: *the growing resistance of the working class and the toiling masses against the onslaught of the fascist powers, against war and fascism.* This is the third characteristic feature of the present international situation.

In our country the elections have taken place to the Supreme Soviet. These elections showed the unity of the Soviet people, the power of our country, the solidarity of the working people with the Soviet government and our Party led by Comrade Stalin, on a scale without precedent or possibility in the entire history of parties, peoples or countries. They are an event not only of internal but also of tremendous international significance. On December 12 we summed up our achievements for the twenty years of the socialist revolution. The Stalin Constitution, which is a great victory for socialism in our country, influences the life of the whole world and exerts tremen-

dous influence over the development of the world revolutionary movement.

The speaker writes down this fact as point No. 4.

He thinks things over further and sees that all the remaining points of the international situation are covered by these four most characteristic, leading features.

He takes these four points and tries to link them together.

What becomes clear to him? It is clear that a world economic crisis is advancing, that the war danger is increasing, that fascism is on the offensive, waging war, that the masses of the people are rising up to resist fascism, that this resistance of the working masses is growing thanks to the triumph of socialism in the U.S.S.R.; the victory of socialism cements the democratic forces of the whole world against fascism and war. Such is the *inner mutual* connection between these characteristic features which determines the present situation on the international arena.

Thus the speaker has the groundwork of his report ready. What he needs to do is to think it over somewhat fundamentally, as a whole. To this end he must direct himself to the works of Lenin and Stalin, where they raise questions of economic crises, imperialist wars, political reaction and the struggle of the working people. These views were expressed by Lenin and Stalin in a different historically concrete situation, but they always compel the speaker to think more deeply over a number of questions; in them he will always find something new, a number of questions will become clearer to him, and consequently more accessible, more understandable to his audience. The speaker must remember that the works of Lenin and Stalin discipline thought, teach every one of us to distinguish the "woods from the trees," and so to give clear and exact expression to one's thoughts in such a way as to be understood by millions of people.

Comrade Stalin, for instance, on more than one occasion expressed his views regarding the world economic crisis of

1929. He spoke of the development of the world economic crisis in a talk with the American journalist Duranty. He gave an exhaustive and profound characterization of the world economic situation in the report he made at the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. These views expressed by Comrade Stalin amaze one at their sharp penetration, and give us the key to a correct estimation of the developing new crisis of capitalist economy.

Then you proceed to work on the different parts of your report, to select materials and to work out the details of each of the main basic points outlined.

Let us begin with point No. 1, about the economic crisis. When dealing with such themes many speakers are not content unless they burden themselves and their audiences with a large number of figures. But a speaker should by no means quote many figures at a mass meeting. Too many figures make a speech heavy, tire out the audience and make the speech dry, boring and difficult of understanding. Figures are all right when read, for the so-called visual memory comes to one's aid, but it is difficult to listen to them in great quantity.

And so let us begin by selecting some of the clearest, most significant figures characterizing the growth of the economic crisis. Let us take figures showing the decline in output in the U.S.A. (You take these figures from the press. You should, by the way, make it a rule that when you read the press and see figures there, if the figures are important and interesting, to write them down or cut them out of the paper. They will always come in handy.) Let us take the most fundamental figures: first, those of the steel industry in the U.S.A., since this industry is decisive and most indicative. This branch of industry in 1937 worked only to the extent of 80 per cent of its capacity, while by October this figure had fallen sharply and hardly reached 30 per cent. Another characteristic figures is that of the increase of unemployment. Unemployment this year in the U.S.A. increased by 2,000,000.

Finally, let us take a third characteristic figure, the decline in the value of shares by 33 per cent. Here are the three figures which provide us with a sufficiently complete and clear picture of what is going on in the economic situation of the U.S.A.

After this some forecast needs to be made; one should think over what these figures hold in promise, what the consequences of the oncoming crisis will be for the U.S.A. and the capitalist world.

This requires above all that you remember the consequences of the preceding crisis of 1929.

You ask yourself this question, recall and note down the point that the crisis of the year 1929 had three basic social and political consequences.

First consequence. Serious disturbances in the economic situation of the capitalist countries led to the collapse of the middle-sized and small enterprises. Big monopolistic capital developed a furious offensive on the working class and on the working people generally; it brought into being and supported the fascist movement by the foulest, most unbridled demagoguery. By making use of the mass poverty, confusion and fear of the middle and small bourgeoisie, the split in the ranks of the working class, and the capitulatory policy of Social-Democracy, fascism seized power in a number of capitalist countries—Germany, Austria, etc.; the fascist warmongers attacked other countries.

Second consequence. You will remember how Social-Democracy in the West European countries, for example, German and Austrian Social-Democracy, used to boast of their numerical strength after the World War of 1914-1918. Social-Democracy on more than one occasion proudly declared that every third citizen in Vienna was a Social-Democrat. Austrian Social-Democracy called itself "Left" and promised the working masses all sorts of things. By their policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, both German and Austrian Social-Democracy split the working class. These parties systematically retreated before

fascism, hiding behind the theory of the "lesser evil," and so cleared the way for fascism. And now the results of this policy are at hand. What remains of these parties?

Conclusion: in a number of capitalist countries (Germany, Austria) there took place the collapse of Social-Democracy. You write this down as the second consequence of the last crisis.

The third, most important consequence. On the background of the fascist offensive, the bankruptcy of the Social-Democratic policy and the collapse of Social-Democracy in several capitalist countries there developed a powerful movement of resistance by the proletariat and the working people to the capitalist offensive, to the fascist offensive. This is the movement of the united and People's Front.

You set yourself the question as to whether the consequences of the present crisis will be the same in the life of the peoples. Of course, the monopolist trusts in the U.S.A. will utilize the crisis to attack bourgeois democracy. Of course, the entire international situation will become still more acute and the war danger will grow to a tremendous degree, yet the consequences of the crisis beginning in the U.S.A. will be, of course, somewhat different from the social and political consequences of the 1929 crisis.

At that time fascism came to power in a number of countries on the crest of the crisis. Fascism promised to withdraw the people from the economic difficulties. It failed to do so. The masses have become convinced from their own experience that fascism is in no way a means of salvation from economic crises. On the contrary, fascism deepens and sharpens all the contradictions of the capitalist system, hastens on the development of new crises. Fascism will have to render account to the people. Add to this the failures of the Germano-Italian interventionists in Spain, the steadily growing chances of a Spanish people's victory which can draw in its train the military and political bankruptcy of fascism in Germany and Italy. Therefore the new crisis will shake the foundations

of the fascist powers, and prepare the conditions for the overthrow of the fascist regime by the masses of the people.

Further, there will be an increase in the power of resistance of the masses to fascism; this will be the case because the masses, on the basis of the bitter experience in Germany and Austria, have become clearer as to the real capitulatory meaning of the policy of the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy. It will now be more difficult for the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy to deceive the masses, who will make use of the lessons of the past crisis, the lessons of the heroic struggles in Spain and China, the experience of France, and will wage a victorious struggle against the attempt to place the consequences of the crisis on their shoulders, and achieve new victories over fascism.

Further, it is necessary to stop for a moment to deal with the perspectives of the very development of the crisis. This crisis, which, as in 1929, began in the U.S.A., has a tendency to grow into a world economic crisis. The situation is already markedly worse in England, Italy, Holland, the Scandinavian countries, Belgium, etc. To illustrate this point, speakers should make use of the figures quoted in the recent articles by Comrade Varga on the crisis. However, it is necessary to warn speakers against too hasty generalizations regarding the development of the crisis in America into a world economic crisis. Comrade Stalin teaches us not to be in a hurry in drawing conclusions, but to make them on the basis of a comparative and careful examination of all the facts and data that characterize the various phenomena of political or economic life.

At the same time, it will not be superfluous if the speaker shows his audience the special features of the present crisis in the U.S.A., if he shows what distinguishes it from the economic crises that took place prior to the imperialist war of 1914-18. It is well known that pre-war developments went through the following four stages: *crisis, depression, revival, boom*. The capitalist economy

of the U.S.A. after the crisis of 1929, which reached its apex in 1932, developed into a depression, and then in the years 1935-1937 into a revival; it did not manage to see "boom" days before the new economic crisis broke out. How is the phenomenon to be explained?

The characteristic feature of present-day economic crises is that they take place in *conditions of the general crisis of capitalism*, when capitalism does not hold undivided sway throughout the world, when the socialist system of economy has achieved victory over one-sixth of the globe. This is why capitalist economy cannot experience a "boom" even in the post-crisis years.

After having given serious thought to the whole of this first section of one's speech, one should proceed to the second point, about war and the war danger. There is a logical connection between the first point and the second.

What does the economic crisis in the U.S.A. mean?

It means a still further sharpening of the war danger. What are the signs of this growing danger of a new world war? First, the war in Spain and China now being waged by the fascist war-makers. The war in Spain and China has actually involved one-quarter of the population of the earth. The fascist scoundrels attacked the Spanish people without officially declaring war. The fascist militarists of Japan behaved in the same way toward the Chinese people. And here we should call to mind what Comrade Stalin said in his talk with Roy Howard. In reply to Howard's question as to when war should break out, Comrade Stalin replied: "*It is impossible to say in advance. War may break out unexpectedly. Nowadays wars are not declared. They simply begin.*"

This talk took place on March 1, 1936. Since that time the events in Spain and China have shown how correct was Comrade Stalin in the way he characterized the bandit methods employed by the fascist war-makers. But these fascist methods are also shown in the ferocity employed by the fascist bandits toward

the "rear" and the peaceful population. The speech will gain a great deal if the audience is given a brief and clear picture of the foul deeds done by the fascist barbarians against the peaceful population. And if the capitalist states put no obstacles in the way of these fascist scoundrels, it is because the fascist barbarians have the support in all capitalist countries of the most reactionary, chauvinistic elements of finance capital.

The second sign of the growing war danger is the formation of such blocs as the "Berlin-Rome-Tokio axis," the advent to power in a number of capitalist countries of gangs of adventurers, fascist war-makers. An example in recent days is Rumania. But even in countries where the fascists are not in power, both in the U.S.A. and in France, there are groups of adventurers (for example, the fascist gang of the Trotskyist Doriot) who, although they have been severely battered about and shaken up, yet don't slow down their foul work, and do everything possible to set alight the flames of war.

The third sign of the growing war danger is that the democratic powers that might have stopped the war (primarily England, France and the U.S.A.) capitulate and retreat step by step before the advance of the fascist aggressors. This policy of retreat only favors the aggressors, stimulates their appetite. A clear example of this support of the aggressors is the notorious "non-intervention" policy.

Finally, the fourth sign is the ever-growing tendency of German and Italian fascism and of the Japanese militarists to undertake the most barefaced intervention in the internal life of neighboring peoples and countries, to carry on disruptive work there, to organize the fascist movement in these countries and to prepare the way for the seizure of power by their agents. There are many examples of this, such as the direct complicity of the Gestapo in the fascist plot in France, the coup d'etat in Rumania, the pressure on Czechoslovakia, etc.

You see now that all the facts that

at first overwhelm you when you read the press now find their place in your speech, and fill it with concrete material. To avoid being wholesale in your assertions, reinforce your speech with striking examples and illustrations.

After the scheme of sections in which the material deals with the war danger and the fascist danger in connection with the world economic crisis has been sufficiently thought over and reinforced with facts, we pass on to the third section. Here again the transition is quite natural and logical. Having spoken of the dark forces of war, it is necessary to give a picture of the anti-fascist, popular forces of peace that stand against them. You must remember that this is the most important, the most moving part of your speech. Your audience will listen to this with the greatest of interest. In this part of your speech you will deal with the growing struggle of the masses against fascism. To be convincing you should use the language of living facts. This makes it incumbent on you to make a brief historical review of the development of the struggle against fascism.

Here, for example, we have the year 1933 when fascism came to power in Germany. Did the masses of the people there fight against fascism? Yes, they did, but it was a weak struggle. Why? The masses offered weak resistance to fascism because of absence of unity in the ranks of the working class, because of the treacherous policy of Social-Democracy, which waged a struggle not against the offensive of fascism, but against the Communist Party, and did everything possible to prevent the establishment of the united front. By this policy Social-Democracy drove away from the working class its allies, the peasants and the petty bourgeoisie. The fascists made use of the patriotic feelings of the German people which had been insulted by the yoke of the Versailles Treaty, and also of the waverings of bourgeois democracy. That is why the fascists were able to come to power in Germany without meeting any serious resistance from the masses.

But 1934 already showed another picture. Encouraged by the easy victory in Germany, the fascists endeavored to seize power in Austria, but came up against the armed resistance of the Schutzbund workers. In Spain the working class replied to the provocation of the Lerroux government with the Asturian revolt. You will remember further how the French workers replied to the provocative work of the fascists by taking up the defense of liberty and democracy in February, 1934.

Since that time, the anti-fascist movement has been growing. February, 1936, saw the victory of the People's Front at the elections in Spain. In July of the same year the fascist bandits organized a rebellion. The almost unarmed Spanish people crushed this rebellion in Madrid, Barcelona, and over a great part of Spanish territory. To Franco's aid came his masters, the German and Italian fascists. Around Madrid, Guadalajara, Belchite and Teruel, the republican army dealt severe blows at the fascist bandits.

In China, thanks to the establishment of a united national front based on agreement between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang, the forces of the Chinese people have grown strong in the struggle against the Japanese invaders. The four hundred millions of the Chinese people are being drawn into the struggle against the Japanese fascist-militarists. In France, thanks to the People's Front movement, the repeated attacks of fascism have been beaten off. The People's Front has become a factor of tremendous international significance. Such is the language of facts.

Now you must pass on to the situation today in Spain and China. What is the position today? In Spain, there is Teruel in which is reflected the power of the growing republican army; therefore, you must deal with the situation in Spain from the angle of the significance of the Teruel victory. As a speaker, you must always remember that your task is not to retell the past, but to throw light on what is new, on what is now of interest to your audience. You must

give a clear explanation to your audience of the tremendous significance of the Teruel victory. Here you should underline three points:

1. Franco together with Germany and Italy had for several weeks been preparing a blow against the republican front, and for this purpose had gathered big forces together; the Teruel victory disrupted this plan of Franco and the interventionists.

2. The republican army, by its blow at Teruel, inflicted on the army of intervention a very serious defeat which is demoralizing the fascist troops and is very seriously undermining Franco's worth in the eyes of his high-placed supporters in the City of London, etc.

3. The battle of Teruel bears witness to the power of the republican army, to its growing maneuvering power, to the ability of Republican Spain not only to defend itself, but also to pass over to the offensive. And it is on this background that you show the fighting qualities of the People's Army in Spain. And you should fill this part of your speech with clear examples, speak of the tremendous role of the Political Commissars in the Spanish army, of its splendid commanders, of the heroism of its rank and file, of the wonderful work done by the Communist Party in the building of the army.

The speaker must deal with all this in lively, graphic language and quote absorbing, moving facts. Give examples of heroism taken from life itself, paint the pictures of the personalities of outstanding commanders, of such people as Lister, Modesto, Campesino, Miaja, and in passing describe Comrade Pasionaria's work at the front. You may be sure that this part of your speech will be met with tremendous interest and enthusiasm.

The audience should be given living facts, and the story of the heroic struggle in order to show them how the influence of the Communists has grown and why. It has grown thanks to a correct policy (the attitude to the front, to the peasantry, the consistent struggle against

the espionage of the Trotskyites and all the other filthy wretches).

Do not forget to speak of the difficulties of the struggle. What are these difficulties? They are as follows:

1. The Spanish people have to carry on a struggle against two of the biggest fascist vultures, Germany and Italy, and the fascist rebels also receive the aid of British capitalists.

2. The Spanish Communist Party has to wage an unflagging struggle for the maintenance of the People's Front against the intrigues of Largo Caballero, the Anarchists, the reactionary leaders of the Second International; it has to paralyze the foul disruptive work of the P.O.U.M. spies, and to wage a struggle against the supporters of a "compromise" with Franco. And this involves no small expenditure of energy.

But you must not conclude this subsection of your speech with a recital of the difficulties, for the difficulties facing the Spanish people can be overcome. And the guarantee of this lies in the growing importance of the Communist Party in the People's Front in Spain. The Spanish Communist Party now has more than 400,000 members, while the League of United Communist and Socialist Youth has 350,000 members. These constitute a big force. In addition, the influence of the Communists is growing in the trade unions, and it is to their credit that the criminal designs of Caballero to split the U.G.T. (General Workers' Union) in Spain had been smashed. In conclusion stress should be laid on the fact that this influence of the Communist Party is conditioned not only by its correct policy, but also by the tremendous growth of the authority of the U.S.S.R. among the people of Spain, by the manifestation of the profound love with which the Spanish people surround Comrade Stalin, true disciples of whom are Comrades Jose Diaz and Pasionaria.

Having dealt with Spain, the speaker should show what is taking place on the other sector of the front of the anti-fascist struggle, in China. And here you must take as your starting point the

latest and most important events. The Japanese occupied Nanking. This agitates the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, who expect that you will throw light on the perspectives of the further struggle of the Chinese people. You should explain that although the Japanese have occupied Nanking, the struggle still goes on. The Japanese based their calculations on having to deal a "short blow." They hoped that with the fall of Nanking, the Chinese government would be compelled to begin "peace" negotiations. But the Japanese miscalculated. The Chinese people are by no means preparing to stop the struggle.

On the contrary, the occupation of Nanking by the Japanese has still further rallied the forces of the Chinese people for a resolute struggle against the invaders. It should be shown that the further the Japanese penetrate into the interior of China, the greater are the difficulties they encounter. To maintain their hold on Northern China, the Japanese need an army of 600,000 men. To maintain their hold on Manchukuo, an additional 300,000 men are wanted, and on Korea another 50,000. In short, almost a million men are needed. It must be explained that great resources are required to maintain an army of a million men, whereas Japan's financial position is extremely serious. This should be reinforced by figures and data.

Further, it should be stressed that the war against the Japanese bandits has assumed a national character in China. It is a struggle both of the regular army and of the partisans, and herein lies the tremendous danger for the Japanese, who have to maintain a front extending 1,500 kilometers. Against them they have a rear up in arms. You should end this section of your speech about China by giving examples of the heroism of the Chinese soldiers, especially of the Eighth Army under the command of the Communist Chu-Teh. Clear and live examples of this heroism fill the audience with confidence in the inevitable victory of the Chinese people.

Finally, we come to the fourth point of your speech, the elections to the Supreme Soviet in the U.S.S.R. and their international significance. The elections to the Supreme Soviet constitute a mighty and magnificent demonstration of the confidence of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. in the Party of Lenin-Stalin, in the Soviet government and in the leader of the working people of the whole world, Comrade Stalin. How has this confidence been won? By the wise leadership of the Bolshevik Party headed by Lenin and Stalin, by the leadership which secured the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R.

The speaker should show that the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. is the iron backbone of the fighting front of the working people throughout the world against fascism, war and capitalism. He should show that the tremendous election victory of the bloc of Communists and non-Party people is a victory for the working people of all countries, is a menacing warning to enemies engaged in preparing an onslaught on the land of the Soviets, the fatherland of the working people of the whole world.

He should show that this victory is an indictment against fascism and its foul, contemptible agents who tried to bring about the restoration of capitalism in the U.S.S.R. It is the triumph of socialist democracy which in deeds exposes the leaders of international Social-Democracy and their position on questions of the proletarian dictatorship and bourgeois democracy. It is a call by the peoples of the land of victorious socialism to the oppressed and exploited of all capitalist countries for a bolder and more resolute struggle against the fascist barbarians and the warmongers.

After developing and explaining each of these points the speaker should end by summing up the basic conclusions of his report in brief powerful words which paint the perspectives of the final victory of the masses of the people over the forces of reaction and capitalism.

This approximately is how one should prepare and draw up a report on the international situation.

International Women's Day — 1938

BY N. KRUPSKAYA

THE Stalin Constitution is the Constitution of the land of socialism. For forty years, since its foundation in 1898, our Party has fought for socialism, for a system that will know no exploitation, poverty, ignorance, desolation and neglect; it has fought for a plentiful, healthy, bright and enlightened life for all.

Our Party is the offspring of the international working-class movement, and we regard our victory as the victory of the working people of the world. From Marx and Engels, from the experience of revolutions in every country, we learned the right way to fight, the right road to follow. Life has proved how correct is the teaching of Marx. The Russia of yore, ignorant, backward, poverty-stricken, devastated by the imperialist war, a country where the landlords and capitalists ruled unchecked, where the crudest forms of exploitation and national oppression prevailed, has become the mighty Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It has become so owing to the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, owing to the heroic, selfless struggle of the workers, who succeeded in securing the following of the peasantry, the following of all working people. We shall never let the banner of socialism out of our hands. We know that it will soar over the world.

Equal rights for women is not a new question. Our Party has fought for them all the time. From the very outset women have taken part in the revolutionary struggle. From the very outset working women have fought shoulder to shoulder with their husbands and brothers. From

the very outset our Party has devoted a great deal of attention to the emancipation of women, exposing the economic and political roots of women's inequality.

When the working class seized power in October, 1917, one of its first measures was to abolish the legal inequality of women. Speaking at the Fourth Moscow City Non-Party Conference of Women Workers on September 23, 1919, Lenin said:

"The Soviet government has applied democracy to a greater extent than every other country, even the most advanced, by the fact that in its laws not the slightest hint of any inferiority of women is left. I repeat, not a single state and no democratic legislation has done even half of what the Soviet government did for women in the very first months of its existence."

But Lenin always said that this is only the beginning in the emancipation of women; that in reality women will be finally emancipated only when the whole of society is reorganized on the principles of socialism; that to make the victory of socialism durable prolonged organizational work will be necessary, into which millions and millions of working women must be drawn.

Ever since the beginning of Soviet rule equal rights for women have been an object of interest not only for women, but for men as well—young men, Red Army men. I remember how surprised Mirbach, the German Ambassador, was when, while paying an official call to Lenin in 1918, he saw one of the Red Army men who acted as Lenin's guard

sitting at a table reading a book. He wanted to know what the book was and asked to have the title translated. It turned out that the guard was reading a translation of *Woman and Socialism*, by Bebel.

Women took an active part in the civil war. Those were hard years. The Whites spared neither women nor children; women who were Red Partisans or mothers of Red Partisans, peasant women, teachers, were whipped and shot down; so were children. . . . Can this ever be forgotten? The civil war opened the eyes of the working people; it showed them who was friend and who was foe. Reading now about the atrocities committed by the fascists, the women who took part in our civil war cannot but recall what they went through; they cannot read without agitation about events in Spain and China today.

When the civil war was over in our Land of Soviets, working women began to take an ever more active part in public affairs, to develop in this sphere and learn the art of administration.

At first this work proceeded slowly, for women were handicapped by the ignorance that had been their lot under tsarism, they were handicapped by household drudgery, by the isolation of petty individual farming, by survivals of the old views regarding women.

Soviet women enjoyed every right; but they did not always know how to use their rights. As late as 1926 only 28 per cent of the women entitled to do so voted in the elections to the Village Soviets, and only 43 per cent in the elections to the City Soviets. There was a core of active women, it is true, but many millions of working women had not yet been fully drawn into political life, into socialist construction.

After restoring the economic system and reinforcing heavy industry, the Soviets launched a widespread campaign of agitation for collective farms. The collective farm movement, the reorganization of farming on a collective basis, did much to enhance the political consciousness and activity of Soviet women.

In 1934-35, 90.4 per cent of the women electors in the cities voted in the elections to the City Soviets, and 80.3 per cent in the elections to the Village Soviets.

The Stalin Constitution records what has been achieved in twenty years of Soviet rule. The discussion of this constitution, which registers the full rights of women, plainly demonstrated that the rights of citizens are inseparably bound up with the reorganization of the whole system of society. This discussion of the Stalin Constitution by the entire population served still more to enhance the political understanding and activity of women.

The elections to the Supreme Soviet fully proved it. Nearly every woman elector voted in the elections; the activity displayed by housewives, by collective farm women and women belonging to the national minorities was particularly marked. The elections demonstrated the friendship among the nations of the Soviet Union, the confidence they place in the Party of Lenin and Stalin, which is the object of such vicious hatred on the part of the fascists. In the course of the election campaign the Party became still more closely welded with the masses of non-Party people.

The elections showed what a powerful organization, what an enormous force our Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has become; they showed the U.S.S.R. is the true home of women, beloved by them.

During the election campaign we women recalled to mind the women comrades who have worked actively to build socialism in our Land of Soviets. During the campaign we also frequently spoke of the civil war in Spain, of Dolores Ibarruri and the other heroines of Spain, and thought of the unknown heroines of China. What they are going through now is so close to the hearts of our women, who fought heroically against the White Guards and lost their fathers, husbands, brothers and sons in the civil war! During the election campaign we recalled Clara Zetkin, whose

name is known to every enlightened woman in the world.

Clara Zetkin in 1910 initiated the celebration of March 8 as International Women's Day. On March 8, 1933, shortly before her death, she was awarded the Order of Lenin. Her last years she spent in the U.S.S.R. and was greatly beloved of our working and collective farm women. She was frequently visited by women's delegations. She was filled with joy at the development of Soviet women. It was a painful blow to her that Germany had fallen into the hands of the fascists. Though she never for a moment doubted that fascism is the last agony of dying capitalism, that fascism is doomed, it is natural that events in Germany should so deeply have agitated her. At the age of 75, though seriously ill, she went to Germany to exercise her right of opening the Reichstag as its oldest member. In doing so she risked her life, she risked falling into the hands of the fascists, who hated her, and being tortured to death. On August 30, 1932, she opened the Reichstag with a long speech against fascist dictatorship, and concluded with a fiery appeal for a united revolutionary front.

Clara Zetkin was chairman of the Executive Committee of the International Labor Defense and issued an appeal against fascism.

"Look at Germany, where dying capitalism is seeking salvation in fascism," she wrote. "Fascism has established a regime of physical and spiritual destruction, a regime of barbarism whose atrocities exceed even the horrors of the Middle Ages. The entire world is filled with indignation over the brutality of the fascist reign of terror. . . .

"Working women, remember that fascism deprives you of the rights you have won in bitter struggle and denies you the right to independent work. Remember that the 'Third Empire' wants to turn you into your husband's servants and child-bearing machines. Do not forget the brave women fighters who have been tortured to death by fascism or are languishing in its dungeons. . . .

"Scientists, artists, teachers, writers, professional people! Do not forget that the fascists make *autos-da-fé* of the works of culture which you created and carefully protected, and whose destruction is depriving mankind of one of the sources of human development. . . .

"How vile is the fascist baiting of representatives of other races; and, in particular, how vile are their Jewish pogroms! . . .

"Enemies of fascism in all countries! Not a single one of us should rest at ease until fascism, which brings in its train bloody oppression, terror, starvation and war, has been destroyed."

So Clara Zetkin wrote. She died on June 20, 1933. During the years that have passed since her death fascism has become ever more arrogant; it has come more and more to rely on the jingoist elements, to provoke national animosity and to exploit the unenlightenment of a section of the petty bourgeoisie. The example of Germany has been followed in a number of other countries. Now fascism is raging ever more arrogantly and brutally in a number of countries, is making open and secret connections in all countries, is not only hatching imperialist war, but already waging it in Spain and China.

The memory of the imperialist war still lives in every mind; the working people have not forgotten it. They all know how the capitalists made profits out of this war, how they plundered the weaker countries. The fascists are taking account of the lessons of the imperialist war, they are using them for their own ends; they are exploiting the achievements of science. But the fascists also know that war rouses the class-consciousness of the masses, that it organizes the masses; they know that the October Revolution was born in the fires of imperialist war. And they are making haste.

The trial is now proceeding of the "Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites," those traitors to the cause of the working class, the cause of socialism. A feeling of dis-

gust mounts in one as one reads the statements of these traitors, who for years passed themselves off as leaders of the working class, builders of socialism, while in fact they were mortal enemies of the workers, who deceived and betrayed the land of the Soviets, and sold themselves to the fascists. . . . History has never known such baseness, such monstrous betrayal.

Now we must rally for concerted action.

The Party of Lenin and Stalin is filled with profound confidence in the strength, might, and organization of the working people not only of our own Soviet land, but of the world. It never doubts that the working women of all countries will offer concerted resistance to fascism, which relies for support in every country on White Guards, on double-dealers like those of the "Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites," whose purpose is to make capital, make careers at the expense of the working people's blood.

The experience of the October Revolution already attracts the attention of the broad masses in the capitalist countries; and this experience cannot be burnt in an *auto-da-fé*. It is not accidental that in 1934 an international women's congress was held in Paris against war, and against fascism, which is doing everything to kindle a world war. It is not accidental that in a number of countries women's committees exist for combatting war and fascism. Nor are these committees made up of Communists alone; they are gaining ever more support among women who know

how much grief and suffering war will bring.

The events in Spain and China show that the war which the fascists are so eagerly kindling will hit the masses of working people much harder than the last imperialist war.

This is clear not only to the women of Spain, China, Italy, Germany and Japan; it is clear to the women of all countries.

Ten million people were killed in the World War and over 20,000,000 wounded. Poverty and devastation are what this war brought the working people; human lives were counted for nothing; millions of children were orphaned; long years of suffering fell to the lot of those who lost their eyesight, were crippled or went out of their minds; and with them suffered their kith and kin, their mothers, wives and sisters.

The events in Spain and China show that the war started by the fascists is even more brutal, many times more so; it is spreading to ever new countries and bringing unparalleled destruction.

The working people of all countries must rally ever more closely in a united front of action in order by their concerted effort to frustrate the fascists' designs.

On March 8, the day of the international solidarity of women, the women of all countries should march in the front ranks of the united front, in the ranks of those who are fighting for peace and against war.

For peace; for friendship among the peoples!

The Presidential Elections and the Democratic Movement in the Argentine

BY P. GONZALEZ ALBERDI

THE struggle of the masses of the people in the Argentine for their democratic rights began to assume wide proportions at the end of the nineteenth century. The economic development of the country helped to extend this struggle. In the Argentine, a country almost exclusively devoted to cattle-breeding, there began to develop agriculture, which is now the chief branch of the national economy. Hundreds and thousands of poor peasants, the majority of whom emigrated from Europe, mostly from Italy and Spain, began to populate the semi-desert, uncultivated districts which had formerly served as pasture fields for cattle.

In 1895 the population of the Argentine was about 4,000,000; by 1937 it was 12,500,000.

The towns grew rapidly. Thirty-five per cent of the entire population of the Argentine now live in towns with a population of more than 25,000 inhabitants each, while the city of Buenos Aires has a population of 2,500,000.

Since the time of the World War there has been a rapid development of light industry and oil production. According to the figures of the last industrial census, there were 574,000 workers employed in factories and industrial plants, about 150,000 people on the railways.

The Argentine occupies 16 per cent of the entire territory of South America, while in respect to foreign trade, railway traffic, the extent of the development of the telephone and telegraph system, the quantity of oil consumed,

the Argentine occupies a more important place than a number of other countries of South America, and in respect to certain industries is more than equal to the main countries taken together.

The land monopoly led to contradictions between imperialism and the owners of latifundia. The foreign capitalists who have control of the Argentine's foreign trade and transport appropriate, thanks to the high railway and sea-traffic rates and trading profits, a considerable portion of the product of the national economy and exert pressure on the home market. In their factories they resort to the most refined capitalist rationalization, and exploit and oppress thousands of workers (meat-packing, transport, etc.), cultivate semi-slave forms of labor in the most remote districts of the country (manufacture, sugar factories, etc.). A handful of people representing monopoly foreign capital, mainly British, apart from the profits they receive from their undertakings, compel the people of the Argentine to pay interest on big state loans.

All this gives rise to discontent among the workers, peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie. More than this, the representatives of foreign capital, having allocated privileges to several groups of large-scale cattle breeders and agriculturists, have thereby intensified the contradictions between imperialism on the one hand, and the majority of landowners, cattle-breeders and wide sections of local industrialists and trading bourgeoisie, on the other hand.

In the Argentine, 1,843 families own territory in excess of the total territory of England, Holland and Belgium taken together (41,787,000 hectares). A great part of the territory in the provinces of Santa Fe and Patagonia belongs to foreigners. Of 153,254 peasant farms, only 60,535 own the land they cultivate (and that only relatively so, since in the majority of cases they continue to pay for it through the whole of their lives). The remaining 92,719 farmers rent their land, of which 38,314 pay their rent in money, 48,428 in kind, while 5,977 cultivate their land on the *corvée* system.*

The leases include points which limit the free use of the land and freedom of trade.

The oppression by foreign capital, the strengthening of the reactionary forces in the country, the dissatisfaction of the wide masses of the people, have called forth and continue to call forth a wide democratic movement in the Argentine.

The democratic movement in the Argentine was always directed against the reactionary parties and groups, against the "oligarchy" made up of big landowners, cattle-breeders and capitalists. The biggest party in the Argentine is the Civil-Radical League,** its program demands the observation of the Constitution and freedom of elections.

In 1912 the democratic movement won a great victory by adoption of the so-called Saenz Peña Law (secret, compulsory ballot). As a result of this law, the governmental power passed into the hands of the Civil-Radical League. The government made up of League elements only introduced a few hesitant social reforms.

On September 6, 1930, the fascist general Uriburu, a former officer of the

German Imperial Army, connected with the oil companies of North America and supported by the old conservative parties, brought about a *coup d'état*, overthrowing the Radical government and establishing a terrorist dictatorship.

Uriburu formed armed fascist legions and intended to introduce the fascist corporative system. But the indignation of the masses, which manifested itself in a number of armed revolts and in intensive revolutionary underground activity, as well as the pressure of British imperialism which was scared at the connections between Uriburu and American firms, compelled him to call for a presidential election. But he did not allow either the Civil-Radical League or the Communist Party to take part in this election, thus ensuring the election as President of the Republic of General Justo, the nominee of the old conservative parties united as the National Democratic Party, and the Right group of the Civil-Radical League ("Anti-Personalist").

General Justo mouthed phrases about respecting democratic law, but in fact carried through the policy of reaction begun with the *coup d'état* of Uriburu. He shared the governmental posts among his allies, fascist supporters of Uriburu; he made big concessions to British imperialism, so as in this way to keep the London market for the biggest cattle-breeders; he set up state monopoly institutions so as to establish control over industry and transport for the benefit of British imperialism and the big cattle-breeders, landowners and capitalists; he burdened the state finances with the liabilities of the big landowners and capitalists, thus leading to the devaluation of money and a rise in the cost of living. General Justo operates a policy advantageous to the upper section of the landowners and capitalists, but contrary to the interests not only of the workers and peasants but also of the weaker sections of the bourgeoisie.

Fascism, under the protection of the Justo government, is strengthening its positions in the Argentine. Proof of this

* These data are taken from the *Anuario Agropecuario* for 1932.

** The Civil-Radical League is a party to which belong native bourgeois and petty-bourgeois elements, agricultural cattle-breeders. The League has considerable influence over the workers as well —P. G. A.

lies in the new anti-democratic laws adopted, the terroristic work of the police system constructed after the fashion of the German Gestapo, and the clerical reaction in the schools. Not only the police, but also the governmental organs of the Buenos Aires Province, the Ministry of National Education, and a section of the key positions in the army are in the hands of out-and-out fascists.

Trade with Germany and Italy occupies quite an important place in the Argentine's foreign trade. The British press is sounding the alarm at the privileges granted to Italy by the recently concluded trade agreement. German firms own a number of big public undertakings. There are banks and big industrial enterprises that belong to Germans, Italians and Spaniards.

Leading Italian, German and Spanish fascists, Japanese "cultural missions" visit the Argentine. Hitler, Mussolini and Franco accept the leaders of the Argentine fascists as honored guests. The fascist governments endeavor to use for their aims the numerous foreign colonies in the Argentine (there are 1,000,000 Italians, 1,000,000 Spaniards, 100,000 Germans, 100,000 Poles, etc.), basing themselves on the trading and industrial Spanish, Italian and other bourgeoisie living in the Argentine. German fascist gangs organize terrorist acts, the fascist organizations openly declare that they draw their inspiration from Hitler, Mussolini, Franco and Uriburu.

By terror, falsification, corruption and the limitation of democratic rights General Justo succeeded at the elections of September 5, 1937, in securing "victory" for the candidature of Ortiz for the post of President against Alvear, the candidate of the Civil-Radical League. Ortiz received 1,083,000 votes, while Alvear received 815,000 votes. Ortiz, who proceeded to undertake his duties as President in February, promises to continue Justo's policy. He is a trusted man of the British Conservatives, whose press supports Ortiz in London. But since Justo's allies are fascist followers of

Uriburu this explains why it was that the candidature of Ortiz also had the support of Mussolini. Castillo, elected for the position of vice-president, is a leading Uriburite.

* * *

Having drawn the necessary conclusions from the directions of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, the Communist Party of the Argentine began to overcome the sectarianism in its ranks and to carry on intensive work for the establishment of a democratic People's Front. This campaign was favored by the mass strikes and agrarian movement that took place in 1935 and in the beginning of 1936; the Communists played a foremost part in these movements. The struggle for the People's Front was also assisted by the acceptance of the revolutionary unions into the General Confederation of Labor, thus giving a serious stimulus to the establishment of trade union unity.

There are trends favoring the People's Front in all the democratic organizations of the Argentine; similar sentiments manifested themselves at the Socialist Party Congress, in the students' organizations, among outstanding representatives of the intellectuals and trade union leaders. On May 1, 1936, the General Confederation of Labor and all the proletarian and democratic parties joined forces and organized a huge demonstration in Buenos Aires. Soon afterwards a wide movement began for rendering moral and material aid to republican Spain.

But the Justo government and its Uriburu allies resorted to various acts of provocation and maneuvers in order in every possible way to hinder the establishment of the People's Front, and to prepare the defeat of the democratic forces at the presidential elections. President Justo succeeded to a considerable degree in paralyzing the activity of the Civil-Radical League as an opposition party by instilling the hope in the leaders of this party of a possible political compromise between the government and

the Radicals and of a break between Justo and the Uriburites. At the same time the reactionary forces undertook a furious anti-Communist campaign, and accused the Radicals and Socialists of being in league with the Communists. In reply to this accusation the leaders of the Radicals and Right Socialists made declarations directed against the Communists, thus confusing wide masses of the people and splitting their ranks.

The Right leaders of the Socialist Party sabotaged a resolution at their Party congress on the question of the People's Front. They split their own party, and expelled the Left wing and a considerable part of the center. In this connection a new party was established, the Workers' Socialist Party. At the last presidential elections, the Right-wing leaders of the Socialist Party put forward their own candidates and carried on a struggle against the Civil-Radical League, the Communists, the U.S.S.R. and the Workers' Socialist Party. The masses of the people rejected the candidates of the Right Socialists. The election results throughout the whole country proved to be catastrophic for the Right Socialists. In the city of Buenos Aires—in the past a citadel of the Socialist Party—the votes they received dropped from 103,106 to 26,422.

The heroic struggle of the Spanish people against the rebels and interventionists gave rise to great enthusiasm among the masses of the Argentine people. Scared by the resistance that has been and is being offered to fascism in Spain, the reactionaries intensified their anti-democratic measures. In some of the wavering groups of the democratic parties a feeling of capitulation developed. Thus Dr. Repetto, leader of the Socialist Party, declared that the People's Front was to blame for the war going on in Spain. Several of the leaders of the General Confederation of Labor, under the influence of reaction and out of fear of the developing struggle of the masses, are seeking a compromise with the government and oppose the unions led by the Communists.

The reactionaries understand that the mere employment of violence against the democratic movement is insufficient, and so they intensify their "Left" maneuvers. The fascist groups connected with Italian and German imperialism utilize "anti-imperialist" demagoguery against Britain and the U.S.A. The fascist governor Fresco organizes meetings of agricultural workers at which he makes demagogic speeches about the way the employers exploit the people, and advises them to set up trade unions "without professional agitators." On the eve of the presidential elections Justo, who has distinguished himself for his repressive acts against those participating in strikes for increased wages, himself put forward the proposal for the establishment of a commission to establish a minimum wage throughout the country.

In the struggle against the democratic movement the reactionaries make wide use of the existing Trotskyite groups, who serve the government as provocateurs and spies. The son of Justo, the present President of the Republic, is a well-known Trotskyite. The Trotskyites fight against the People's Front, declaring that there is no difference between the Radicals and Uriburites. The Trotskyites endeavor to divert the attention of the masses from the real danger to the people of the Argentine from Italian and German fascism, and conduct propaganda against the republican government of Spain. They endeavor to split the solidarity movement with Spain and in every way help to maintain the split in the trade union movement. In the Workers' Socialist Party they are endeavoring to establish a group to support the splitting position of Largo Caballero and to oppose joint action between the Socialists and the Communists.

The splitting work of the Right leaders of the Socialist Party, the repressive and provocative work of the reactionaries, the treacherous tactics of the Trotskyites—all this prevented the masses of the people from electing their candidate at the presidential elections.

The Communist Party of the Argen-

tine, seeing the failure of the negotiations on the question of the People's Front, recommended the electors to vote for Dr. Alvear, the candidate of the Civil-Radical League. The Workers' Socialist Party and other less important workers' groups also decided to support the candidate of the Radicals. A number of democratic parties in the provinces decided to abstain from participation in the elections.

On election day several thousand people in Buenos Aires organized a protest demonstration against the falsification of the elections, and as a result armed conflicts with the police took place. Similar events took place in several provincial towns. The rising cost of living has roused the indignation of the working masses and has given rise to a struggle for increased wages. There have been big strikes of builders, railwaymen and textile workers. Not so long ago the building workers throughout the country (there are 120,000 of them) answered the deportation from the Argentine to fascist Italy of five Italians, leaders of the Building Workers' Union, by a general strike under anti-fascist slogans.

The rank and file of the Civil-Radical League are indignant at the policy of their leaders, who have brought them to defeat. In order to calm the masses down the leaders have begun to talk about a putsch. And there is a real danger of a putsch taking place. The government is itself interested in forcing a putsch by the Radicals, since this will enable it to set about liquidating the remnants of democratic liberties, more openly and more rapidly. The fascist groups of the ruling bloc hope to make use of a putsch by the Radicals so as to play a more prominent role in the government.

The bloc of the parties and groups in power prior to the presidential elections, that supported the candidature of Ortiz, is not uniform. The bloc contains the following three trends:

1. The trend under the leadership of Dr. Fresco, governor of the Buenos Aires Province. This is a clearly fascist trend

which includes the majority of the leaders of the National Democratic Party. This group is more closely connected than the others with Mussolini, Hitler and Franco, although it is also prepared to reconcile itself to an increase in the privileges of British imperialism.

2. The trend which fears the results of an open fascist policy, and whose leaders assert that they stand for democratic law, although they themselves violate it. This trend has the support of the former President Justo and the new President Ortiz, and bases itself on the Radical "Anti-Personalista" and on certain groups of the National Democratic Party. This group is the one most closely connected with British imperialism.

3. Groups of petty bourgeoisie misled by the democratic phraseology of Ortiz, scared by the anti-Communist slander of the reactionaries and fearing the loss of the fruits of the favorable economic situation, constitute the third tendency. The putschist policy of the Civil-Radical League will strengthen the position of the fascist elements in this bloc, and will make it possible to make use of the vacillating petty-bourgeois elements who stand for democratic law. A correct policy could win these groups away from the influence of reaction.

In the Argentine there are, despite all the difficulties, favorable conditions for the masses to be won by the idea of a democratic alliance which will save democratic liberties, defend the people's bread and the independence of the country menaced by fascism. In the Argentine the conditions exist for the liquidation of the policy of capitulation and defeat pursued by the leaders opposed to the People's Front. Favorable conditions also exist for the struggle for trade union unity and for a united front of the workers' parties.

In the Argentine the traditions of the struggle for peace, bread and liberty are strong. A persistent struggle for unity in the ranks of the working class, a consistent struggle for the establishment of the People's Front will guarantee victory to the people of the Argentine over the forces of reaction, the forces of fascism.

Five Years of Fascist Dictatorship in Germany

BY F. DENGEL

THE general crisis of capitalism manifested itself in Germany in a far severer form than in any other big capitalist country. The German bourgeoisie lost the war and at the same time lost almost all their capital investments abroad. The tremendous reparations which Germany had to pay to the victor states on the basis of the various treaties were a weighty burden on Germany's capitalist economy. Its financial reserves (savings) were wiped out during the inflation period. During the years of relative stabilization, between 1924 and 1929, capitalist Germany seemed once again to have entered a period of prosperity. But the capitalist economy of Germany was burdened during those years with foreign debts exceeding twenty billion marks.

With the cyclical crisis that began in 1929, the house of cards of the seeming prosperity of German capitalism fell to pieces. The biggest firms went bankrupt, and their bankruptcy led to the collapse of some of the biggest banks such as the Darmstadt, Dresden and Deutsche banks.

The German bourgeoisie maintained their domination after their defeat in the World War and the November Revolution of 1918 that broke out after the end of the war, and also in the period of the stormy class battles of 1933, thanks to the policy carried through by Social-Democracy of splitting the working class and collaborating with the bourgeoisie. Social-Democracy based itself on the reformist traditions that had taken deep root in the German working class over decades. But to the extent that the economic crisis that spread throughout Germany in 1930 developed, the labor movement rapidly emerged from the state of

stagnation. The influence of the Communist Party grew rapidly, while forces appeared within Social-Democracy striving to bring about a united front with the Communists. A rapid development took place in the process of revolutionization of the German working class. At the same time the petty-bourgeois masses of town and country came into movement; during the crisis years the indebtedness of petty-bourgeois enterprises increased at an incredible rate, the prices of agricultural products and handicraft were falling sharply, the turnover of the handicraft workers and small shopkeepers being reduced by half, while taxes did not lessen.

During the existence of the Bruening, Papen and Schleicher governments the German bourgeoisie endeavored to cope with the situation with the aid of Social-Democracy. Step by step at that time when there was the Braun-Severing government in Prussia, the rights of the workers and peasants were cut down, social insurance was abolished, state measures were used to intensify exploitation, and the terror against the foremost units of the working class became still more severe.

But the most reactionary section of the German bourgeoisie, the heavy industrial magnates, big bankers, owners of latifundia and a section of the landowners were not satisfied with this. Even the increased exploitation of the working people under Bruening and Papen did not secure the reactionary circles a profitable return on their capital. This spurred them on to undertake a furious offensive on the proletariat. The same reactionary circles very unwillingly pur-

sued Stresemann's policy of gradually liquidating the Versailles treaty, of gradually restoring Germany's imperial might. The capitalist magnates had no wish to wait; they saw their path in only one thing, in an unrestrained aggressive imperialist foreign policy, in a rapid and fundamental change in the relation of forces in Europe and throughout the world, in a new re-division of the globe by new wars.

It was these circles that introduced fascism into Germany, particularly the Hitler movement, the most barbarous and furious of the fascist currents.

The definition of fascist dictatorship given by the Communist International applies in toto to German fascism—it is the open, terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic, most imperialistic elements of finance capital.

It goes without saying that the Hitler movement was only able to become so strong because of the maintenance by Social-Democracy of the split in the German labor movement. In July, 1932, Chancellor Von Papen disbanded the Social-Democratic government of Prussia. This illegal act which violated the German constitution, and accepted in cowardly fashion without a fight by the Social-Democratic leaders and trade unions, was a sort of test. This test showed the most reactionary and aggressive circles of the bourgeoisie that they had no reason to expect any serious resistance from the Social-Democratic leaders and trade unions. The treachery of the reformists during the strike struggles of the autumn of 1932 strengthened this certainty.

In the winter of 1932-33, the influence of the Communist Party grew rapidly. Among the Social-Democratic workers the consciousness developed of the need for united action in the struggle against the threatening fascist danger. The united front of the workers was close to fulfilment, and the reactionary bourgeoisie feared it as a threatening and real danger. This it was that served as the main reason for the reactionary

bourgeoisie hastening to deal a decisive blow against the Weimar Republic and to establish a fascist dictatorship.

In his report to the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U., Comrade Stalin said:

"In this connection the victory of fascism in Germany must be regarded not only as a symptom of the weakness of the working class and as a result of the betrayal of the working class by Social-Democracy, which paved the way for fascism; it must also be regarded as a symptom of the fact that the bourgeoisie is already unable to rule by the old method of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy, and, as a consequence, is compelled in its home policy to resort to terrorist methods of administration—it must be taken as a symptom of the fact that it is no longer able to find a way out of the present situation on the basis of a peaceful foreign policy, as a consequence of which it is compelled to resort to a policy of war."*

The last outer stimulus to this war policy was provided by the big scandal in connection with the so-called "Eastern Aid" and the campaign to "resuscitate" the bankrupt Junker large-scale land-owning system in which the family of President Hindenburg himself proved to be involved. Now the landowners as well, whose influence was still quite strong, and with them the leading army generals, endorsed the plans of the most reactionary section of monopoly capital, and on January 30, 1933, Hitler became German Chancellor.

Prior to their seizure of power, the Hitlerites did not hesitate to resort to all kinds of demagoguery in order, by making big promises, to deceive the German working masses. The National-Socialists shouted from the housetops that their movement was directed against big capital, and covered up their aggressive, jingo and grossly anti-Semitic agitation by shameless social demagoguery. But what has remained of all these promises made by Hitler?

* Joseph Stalin, *Socialism Victorious*, pp. 11-12. International Publishers, New York.

Every year of the existence of the fascist regime brings the masses of the people proof of the way they were and are now being deceived by fascism which masks its services to finance capital by social demagoguery.

The fascists have not fulfilled a single one of the promises they made to the masses. What is characteristic of the five years of fascist dictatorship is the unparalleled exploitation and robbery of the population. Let us take, to start with, the question of the profitability of capital. Let us turn to such key figures of German economy and the fascist regime as Thyssen, Fegler and Fliek. When they made Hitler Chancellor, they were bankrupt. The majority of the shares of the "Vereinigte Stahlwerke," the central organization of their gigantic enterprises, passed at that time into the hands of the state. But now the state has handed them back their share, or more correctly, they themselves have taken back their share. In one way or another they have succeeded in avoiding the payment of their colossal debts, have increased their fortunes, and in addition to their old plants have opened new ones, and on top of all this, the state is now in debt to them to the tune of tens of millions of marks.

The big banks which the state had to take in hand during the economic crisis have again "become private property," i.e., have been returned to the big capitalists.

And this is no exception. What we have said refers to all the big capitalist firms in Germany.

The capitalist undertakings in agriculture, the big estates and kulak farms have again become "profitable." This is shown by the rapid rise in the prices of land. Thus for instance the weekly *Die Deutsche Volkswirtschaft* (The German National Economy) in its third issue in October, 1936, reported that the price of land in East Prussia had increased from 409-466 marks per hectare in 1934 to 1,500-1,600 marks per hectare in 1936.

The National-Socialists assert that the monstrous profits of big capital show

the "prosperity" of German economy under the fascist dictatorship. In actual fact, however, these facts prove that the basic vital forces of German economy have been undermined.

During the years of the World War the big capitalists of Germany raked in colossal profits, but there could be no question of the "prosperity" of German capitalist economy. The situation is exactly the same now. Colossal profits are being made by the big capitalists, but instead of prosperity what one sees is the decline of German economy. Uncovered state obligations are in excess of 30,000,000,000 marks.

In its struggle for the organization of a new imperialist war and the redivision of the globe, fascist Germany has violated all agreements flowing from the Versailles and the Locarno treaties which forbade the armament of Germany and hindered its preparations for war. During the last few years all the forces of the people, the entire economy of fascist Germany, have been placed, as nowhere else, at the service of war preparations. From the technical point of view fascist Germany has already almost caught up to the other capitalist powers in the sense of military preparedness. During the same period fascist Germany has succeeded (with the tolerance of the bourgeoisie of the West European democratic countries) in seriously weakening the position of France in Europe, and by its collaboration with Italy and Japan, in seriously complicating the position of the British Empire.

But the waging of war requires not only arms and ammunition; it also requires economic reserves. But the position is bad in this regard in fascist Germany, despite the production of all kinds of substitutes.

The economy of fascist Germany has steadily assumed the character of war-time economy. The sector of economy occupied in satisfying the needs of the masses and in replacing worn-out means of production is becoming ever narrower. But even out of the means of consumption produced no small part goes for

purposes of armament and war preparations. A German manufacturer has declared that in the autumn of 1937 towel factories worked full time, whereas in Berlin one couldn't find either a towel or a bedsheet on sale in the retail shops. Almost the entire towel industry was loaded with war orders. Boot manufacturers, not in receipt of war orders, introduce part-time or close down altogether. At the same time boot factories on war orders work overtime.

The import of industrial raw materials into Germany has reached unheard-of proportions. In 1932, 3,800,000 tons of ores and metals were imported, while the figure for 1936 was over 20,000,000 tons. The output of iron in 1936 amounted to 15,300,000 tons and of steel to 19,200,000 tons; in 1937 this output continued to increase, even though slowly. In 1936 already a ban was placed on the use of iron (ferro-concrete, etc.) in housing construction. In August, 1937, a ban was placed on the fitting of new buildings with iron grates; in September, 1937, a ban was placed on the use of tin for the packing of food products, etc. The output of cement as compared with 1932 increased almost five times, but as a result of the ban placed on the use of cement in housing construction, quite a number of cases are on record where houses collapsed as a result of the use of materials unsuitable from the point of view of building technique.

The extent to which industrial output in Germany is used for armament purposes may be judged from the expenditure items of the state budget.

In 1932-33 taxation receipts amounted to 10,200,000,000 marks. In the 1936-37 economic year they increased to 15,000,000,000 marks, and in the current financial year will amount to about 18,000,000,000 marks. It will hardly be an exaggeration to say that of these 18,000,000,000 marks 10,000,000,000 will be expended on war preparations. During the period of the fascist dictatorship Germany's national debt has increased by at least an additional 40,000,000,000 marks (only an insignificant part of

which is made up of long-term loans). In the current economic year the debt will very likely increase by an additional 10,000,000,000 marks, loans connected with the preparation of war. Thus the fantastic sum of a minimum of 20,000,000,000 marks will be assigned for armaments in one year.

This, however, does not exhaust the allocations made for the preparation of war. The tasks "of the second Four-Year Plan" also constitute a component part of these preparations. The aim of this program is, first, to set the production of substitutes in order, so as in case of war to lessen Germany's dependence on imported raw materials; second, the treatment of poor quality German raw materials (the exploitation of which is economically unprofitable, but may be needed in case of war) and, third, the transfer of part of existing war factories from the border districts to Central Germany.

These new measures are to a considerable degree financed by the state, but actually are passing into the hands of private capitalists. The existing war factories (to mention only the Krupp firm, United Steel, the aircraft and automobile industries, the production of tanks, wharves, the chemical industry, the electrical industry, etc.) are being extended and new plants being opened for the production of arms and munitions. In these plants the capitalists are investing part of the colossal profits they have raked in on the production of armaments. Thus to the 280,000,000,000 expended by the state on the preparation of war there must be added the thousands of millions of capital investments expended by the capitalists for non-productive purposes, for purposes of armaments.

According to the calculations of observers, between 60 and 70 per cent of Germany's large-scale industry is now on war work. This is more than during the World War in England, and almost as much as produced by German industry during the war years.

Thus the "big revival" proves to be nothing other than an expenditure of capital on unproductive purposes, absolutely unparalleled for "peace times." This "revival" has nothing in common with a boom of German economy. For several years already the economy of fascist Germany has been drained of its life's blood, and the existing reserves of gold, raw materials, means of production, etc., necessary for the normal process of production, of commodities necessary for consumption including housing resources, have been worn out. And it is the strength of the people, above all, that is being worn out.

Even in the fascist press one can from time to time come across an admission of this, expressed, it is true, in a roundabout way. For instance, the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, organ of big capital, in a leading article on August 29, 1937, writes:

"The shortage of materials and labor power constitutes the weak spot in our economic revival, because of the increase of purchasing power created in its entirety with the aid of credit, and as a result of our dependence on imports. This weak spot might be overcome by giving up the system of boxed-in economy in the broad sense, by restricting government orders, providing credits, and transferring the initiative of employers to the world market where favorable conditions now exist for exports, conditions which in all likelihood will not be repeated. But since there can be no question, for political and also social reasons, of such a one-sided solution drawn up from the economic point of view, all forces must be exerted so as to prevent this weak spot of the shortage of material becoming transformed into a *cul de sac*."

A fine "economic revival"! Why, the picture here painted is characteristic of decline and ruin and not of revival!

A gigantic organization of the production of means of destruction like the one created by German capitalism during the World War--such is the model according to which the present militarized economy of fascist Germany has been

built, such is the "achievement" of reactionary German monopoly capital under the fascist dictatorship. This policy is fulfilled by intensifying the poverty and hunger of the German people. If the German people and the entire world do not put a stop to the unrestrained adventurers now ruling the country, Germany and its great people are threatened with horrible consequences.

The overwhelming majority of the German people, not excepting even certain bourgeois circles, are already victims of this policy. In the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* leading article above mentioned we read the following:

"True, the position of heavy industry is better, for the ever increasing regulation of the supply of materials, and the increase in state leadership only touch its former essence, but do not threaten its very existence. The position is different with the valuable lamb in the German employers' forest, with the small and middle enterprises, which are rather falling to pieces through the obstacles connected with the regulation of supplies."

Masses of small and middle employers are being ruined under "state leadership," i.e., under the system where the control of the entire national economy is handed over to the big capitalist vultures. According to the new regulations governing shares, small and middle companies are deprived of all influence over the affairs of their businesses. According to the "principle of fuhrerism" the big capitalist sharks hold unlimited sway in the employers' organization. They give the direction to the "state leadership" and absolutely ignore the interests of the middle and small capitalists. Despite the demagogic chatter of the ideologists of fascism the fascist dictatorship has led to a gigantic speeding up of the concentration of capital, to the degradation, impoverishment and mass destruction of small and middle independent firms.

The dictatorial powers of big capital, the endless stream of limitations, bans, regulation of supplies, the fact that the state has become the chief supplier of

orders—all this has not only subordinated all branches of economy to the direct control of big monopoly capital, but has also enabled the latter enormously to enrich itself at the cost of the squeezing out and partial destruction of the small and middle firms.

The employers' organizations are also "unified" on fascist lines. But these organizations, i.e., their upper ranks, a few dozen of the most reactionary capitalist magnates, are now in fact the all-powerful rulers of fascist Germany. This dictatorship of the most reactionary and most aggressive imperialist section of monopoly capital is carried through by the committee for the operation of the "second Four-Year Plan" headed by Goering, and through the "Imperial Ministry of Economy." The military are strongly entrenched in these bodies, in which is carried through the alliance between the reactionary bourgeoisie and the higher army command. Hence, new stages of the oppression and exploitation of the German people lie ahead.

During the economic crisis of 1929 to 1933 the petty-bourgeois masses in Germany were impoverished, became involved in debt and their very existence threatened. In this situation the fascists were able to attract the petty bourgeoisie by the cynical promises they made. But what actually happened? Let us take the independent handicraft workers who were once upon a time promised mountains of gold by the National-Socialists. The average income of such a handicraft worker (and there are four million of them in Germany) hardly reaches 1,200 marks per year. It should be borne in mind that in official statistics the category of "handicraft workers" includes quite a number of capitalist enterprises, so that the income of the real handicraft workers is far lower than the figure quoted. At the beginning of 1937 on orders from Goering, 700,000 handicraft workshops whose owners do not employ labor or else have one or two assistants, were declared to be "unstable." Thereby the signal was given for their destruction by depriving them of raw materials,

by the infliction of heavy fines and by their compulsory closing down.

In 1936 even before Goering had given this signal for the mass destruction of the handicraft workshops about 400,000 independent handicraft workers went bankrupt. In 1937 this process was speeded up to a tremendous degree.

As far back as in 1934 the fascist organization of the middle sections of the urban population, in which anti-capitalist demagoguery had taken firm and deep root, was closed down. The old handicraft workers' organizations, the guilds, still exist. But at the head of them there have been placed big capitalist "leaders" endowed with dictatorial powers. The guilds have been transformed into an instrument for crushing the handicraft workers.

* * *

Considerable sections of the peasantry also fell for the bait of fascist demagoguery during the economic crisis. But since that time there has been a fundamental change in the outlook of the village population. *Der Deutsche Weg* (the organ of the former German Catholic Center Party, appearing abroad) writes of this change in its issue of January 8, 1938. A correspondent of this paper reports that whereas there were strong fascist sentiments in the villages of Franconia in 1932, and the black flag was to be seen in almost all peasant farms and the swastika decorated post offices and schools, in 1937 the outlook had changed, and the fascist greeting "Heil Hitler" was, to say the least, unpopular. The same is to be observed in Golschtiene, Baden and throughout Western Germany, Central Germany and Silesia.

It is difficult to describe the want of the German working peasantry.

The fascists helped the big landowners to make their estates profitable, by raising the prices of all grain at the expense of the peasant farms engaged in cattle breeding. But in Germany there is insufficient grain for the feeding of the population and for the supplying of fodder to the cattle. In 1932, 3,700,000 tons

of food products and fodder were imported into Germany. In 1936 the import of these dropped to 3,000,000 tons. The import of maize during these years dropped from 760,000 tons to 172,000 tons; the import of high quality cattle fodder dropped from 733,000 tons to 63,000 tons. The result is a tremendous dearth of fodder. This has particularly hit hard the small and middle peasant chiefly engaged in intensive cattle breeding. The small and middle peasant farms, being compelled to purchase fodder at speculative prices, have nothing left to do but to cut down the number of their cattle.

The fascists hit the peasants hard by preventing the free sale of cattle, milk, eggs, fruit and vegetables. The German peasant is obliged to hand over to the state the whole of his harvest, all dairy products, all cattle products, at considerably lower prices than those ruling on the market. A ban has been placed on the slaughter of cattle for personal needs. The peasant has not even the right to make his own butter. All milk to the very last drop must be handed over to dairy plants. Every peasant receives a document on which is recorded every sale, and he is only allowed to undertake sales by agreement with the organs of the "Imperial Food Estate." According to a decision promulgated in August, 1937, peasants who fail to deliver grain or who feed their cattle with it are liable to severe punishment, imprisonment and eviction from their homes.

The peasant is in duty bound to keep a record of every hen, of every egg laid. There are commissions of the "Imperial Food Estate" that keep a check on the milk yield, on the grain harvest, the egg yield, etc. These commissions possess police powers and terrorize the peasants. It will be sufficient to say that peasants are forced to purchase eggs in the towns at three times their price in order to fulfill the demands of these commissions.

In thickly populated Germany with its numerous industrial towns, hundreds of thousands of small peasants were able to make a living precisely because they

marketed a large portion of their products directly to the consumer at retail trading prices. It was on this for instance that there was based the existence of the allotment farms surrounding the towns. The ban on the marketing of products in the open market has doomed the peasants to unparalleled want, to indebtedness, and has already ruined countless numbers of peasant farms.

The working peasants are also stripped clean by the innumerable taxes and contributions. There has been a considerable increase in direct taxation (on income and property) and in the turnover tax. There have been increases in the "civil tax," the tax per head; new taxes have been introduced on the slaughter of cattle, etc. In addition, the peasants have to contribute to the fund of the "Imperial Food Estate," to pay increased insurance premiums and make an endless number of "voluntary" payments to the "winter fund," etc.

The fascists promised the peasants land for settlement purposes at the expense of the big estates. In actual fact over a million hectares of cultivated land have been withdrawn from agriculture for war purposes, and this has been done mainly in districts where peasant farming predominates. The fascists do everything possible to favor the development of new large estates and capitalist farms, again in the interests of the preparation of war. The number of auction sales of peasant farms increased 70 per cent between 1933 and 1936. The eviction of peasants from their farms is now carried through in great part administratively through the action of the "Imperial Food Estate" and through the compulsory acquisition of the land by the military authorities.

The German peasantry are thoroughly indignant at the way they are completely deprived of rights on their own farms, at the way the villages swarm with crowds of officials, and by the way they are watched over by the police.

In the majority of districts the democratic traditions of the distant past—for the traditions of the great peasant wars

have never died out in the country—still continue to exist.

Those of the German working peasantry who first understood fascism to be a revolt against capitalism are now overwhelmingly opposed to fascism. The villages cannot be so thickly enmeshed in the network of terror, as the town or the factories. A movement against fascism is now developing in Germany among the peasants. Quite a number of German peasants are in concentration camps or jails for having had the courage to defend the interests of the peasants against fascism. It is not for nothing that in the German village the fascist authorities have strengthened and reorganized the gendarmerie, linked it up with the defense units and have partly motorized the police.

Numerous examples could be quoted of collective action by the peasantry against the compulsory delivery of products, against compulsory contributions and compulsory sowing. Orders regarding the sowing of flax, etc., have not been fulfilled in thousands of German villages. There have been cases of collective action by the peasants in entire districts and regions, such as the milk suppliers' strike in Hessen on the Rhine in 1936; the action of the peasants of Leobschutz against the requisition of grain in the spring of 1937; the movement of allotment holders in the Firland district. On the outskirts of Hamburg, in the summer of 1937, against the ban on the sale of vegetables at the market, a movement that developed into mighty demonstrations.

The peasant movement is also expressed in the struggle between the fascist state and the Church. In the Catholic districts, religious processions increasingly assume the character of anti-fascist demonstrations. Age-old church holidays are used for mass anti-fascist processions. Unbelievers also do not let slip this only legal possibility of openly demonstrating against fascism. There have been hundreds of cases where things have gone as far as conflicts with the police and fascist units. In the spring

of 1937 in a village in East Prussia these conflicts developed into real armed war. There have been cases when hundreds of thousands of people have taken part in processions under the guise of pilgrimages to Aachen, to Annaberg in Silesia.

The struggle of the fascists to "unify" the Church is an attack against the last remnants of democratic rights. That is why the Communists support this protest movement in which the indignation of the masses against fascism finds expression. In this movement adequate possibilities exist for strengthening the growth and development of the entire anti-fascist movement.

* * *

Fascism directed its chief blow against the working class. In its struggle against the proletariat, fascism threw off all guises of civilization whatsoever and showed itself in its real brute colors.

The fascist hangmen killed thousands of bold, thoroughly devoted fighters to the cause of the working class, not only Communists but also Social-Democrats, and Christian and non-party workers. Hundred of thousands of workers were thrown into concentration camps and jails where a regime of unparalleled severity has been established. Comrade Thaelmann, leader of the Communist Party of Germany, has been languishing in jail for almost five years in strict isolation, and is subjected to torture.

The fascists preach the principle of the "superiority of the German race." Basing themselves on this barbarian principle they are preparing war against other peoples. At the same time they treat their own people and particularly the German working class as a formless mass, without value or ability to undertake either action or leadership. They have enslaved their own people and deprived them of all their rights.

The fascists have created a monstrous organization to control every step taken by the worker in the factory and outside. This is the Gestapo, the Guard units, the system of house overseers

(*blocwart* and *hauswart*) and the factory police. During the last few months the whole system has been crowned by special "selected units" of so-called death detachments, or in plain language, executioners.

The fascists destroyed all the independent working class organizations. They crushed the trade unions and robbed them of their tremendous resources (over 1,000,000,000 marks), deprived the working class parties of the majority of their leaders, scattered a large proportion of their members and drove these parties deep underground.

The German workers no longer possess their own legal organizations, their legal press. But despite all this terror the protest movement among the workers is taking the form of collective resistance. To facilitate the watch over each individual worker, the fascists have introduced cards on which are recorded the political reliability, all the former places of employment, particulars regarding military service, etc., of the given worker. Entire categories of workers (for example, metal and building workers) are forbidden to move about freely from one place of work to another. These workers are allowed to leave their jobs only with the sanction of the Labor Exchange. Finally, many factories and particularly almost all war enterprises have been militarized, and any "misdeed" of a worker, in other words, any attempt to protest in such a factory is punishable as treason by long-term imprisonment or even by execution.

The fascists themselves are compelled to admit that the real wages of the workers have dropped between 15 and 17 per cent since 1933. These figures, of course, give a rosy picture of the actual situation. Actually according to the data of 1936, over 50 per cent of the German workers find less than 20 marks per week in their wage envelopes. In addition, contributions (income tax, head tax, insurance, compulsory contributions to the "German Labor Front") amount to as much as 25 per cent of total earnings. The building worker who receives 28

marks per week brings about 22 marks home; the weaver who earns 21.47 marks brings home 18 marks and even less.

According to official statistics the cost of living index rose from 116.1 in 1933 (taking the year 1912-14 to be 100) to 125.4 in 1936. In the same period the cost of food rose from 109.7 to 124.2 and of clothes from 106.0 to 120.3. This means that even according to official data the purchasing power of wages dropped in round figures by 10 per cent.

The German fascists are brazen enough to declare that unemployment in Germany has been liquidated. But they contradict themselves, because even according to fascist data the number of unemployed in Germany now amounts to one million; in actual fact there are more than two million unemployed. The employed workers in the overwhelming majority are compelled to work at an exceptionally intense, hitherto unparalleled speed. Does this mean that people in Germany are less hungry now than in 1932? Even fascist authorities prove the opposite.

It is a known fact that in 1937 the consumption of bread was still more limited, but the chief thing is that the bread was of a coarse quality (92 per cent of grist with a mixture of maize, flour and potatoes). There has been a decline in the ration of fats (ration cards for fats were introduced in Germany in January, 1937) which has been cut down still further since January of this year. There has been a fall in the consumption of meat, and the quality of meat products has worsened to an unbelievable degree (waste which was formerly considered to be unsuitable for consumption is now made into sausage products; the same is true of sick cattle; sausages are also made out of low-quality sea fish). During 1937 there was a sharp decline in the consumption of eggs since hens are killed for want of fodder. The consumption of high quality vegetables has also been sharply cut down. In the Rhine district the area under vegetables dropped by 45 per cent between 1932 and 1936, since there was no

market for the vegetables as a result of the low purchasing power of the town population. Similar reports come from allotment holders living on the outskirts of Berlin and other industrial centers.

The position is still worse with clothing, boots, domestic ware and living quarters. Everywhere "ersatz" (substitute) reigns supreme; instead of woolen cloth, artificial wool made of cellulose; instead of real leather, artificial leather, etc. Very few new dwelling houses for workers are being built, while the old ones are not being repaired.

The year 1937 was not, like 1932, a period of severe economic crisis. It was a year of a "big revival" but a very peculiar one. Output more than doubled between 1932 and 1937. But at the same time the standard of living of the workers was sharply reduced and there was an unparalleled increase in poverty.

The agricultural workers are in a particularly poverty-stricken position. All the rights formerly won by them have been abolished. In fascist Germany, the agricultural laborer is in the full sense of the word a serf, a slave, who together with his family toils and moils and never even has his hunger satisfied. He is not allowed to leave his place of work, even though the conditions are unbearable. Alternatively there hangs over him the threat of severe punishment, prison. Defenseless and without rights, the agricultural laborer is entirely dependent on the whims of the brutal gangs of policemen and fascist guards. On the big estates the agricultural laborer receives only a few marks per year in cash, being paid for his labor in kind. According to a ruling promulgated in July, 1937, the amount of bread allowed for an agricultural laborer's family of five people was fixed at 4.5 centners (about 9 cwt.) per annum; in return for this ration, not only the worker himself but also his wife and children are compelled to work the whole year round.

The fascist dictatorship has been particularly ruthless in its treatment of social insurance. Take unemployment insurance, for example. During the five

years of the fascist dictatorship—until the middle of 1937—insurance contributions amounting to over 6,000,000,000 marks were taken from the workers. Now, as in the crisis years, 6.5 per cent of wages are retained for the unemployment insurance fund. Of the 6,000,000,000 marks retained from the workers only 3,100,000,000 were expended on unemployment insurance, while the remainder went to the government's coffers for armaments and the maintenance of the fascist bureaucracy. During the last few years, this divergence has become exceedingly sharp. During the first five months of 1937 (January-May inclusive) the state revenue from unemployment insurance amounted to 710,000,000 marks, while only 130,000,000, i.e., less than one-fifth of the total receipts, were expended on benefits. It should be borne in mind that only half of the registered unemployed received benefits, and only 28 per cent of unemployed women.

Old age pensions and pensions for invalids have been cut down by 30 per cent (not taking account of the fall in the purchasing power of money). As a result of all kinds of "tests" only a third of the former number now receive pensions. By the middle of 1937, 2,300,000,000 marks more had been paid by workers and office employees into the insurance fund and invalid fund than had been paid out in pensions. At the same time the system of speed-up and the constant underfeeding lead to a sharp increase in accidents. For instance, in the minerals and earthworks industry the number of workers increased between 1932 and 1936 to 71 per cent, while the number of accidents increased by 184 per cent. Sickness per hundred insured workers increased between 1932 and 1936 by 37 per cent. According to data the death rate among workers increased by 27 per cent under the Hitler regime.

And so the fascist state has expended on armaments more than 6,000,000,000 marks withheld from the wages of the workers under the guise of various forms of insurance, and has used these sums to prepare for war. The fascist

ideologists make the cynical declaration that the fascist state was established not to maintain incapacitated old men, weaklings and cripples. Let the old men and cripples, they say, die of hunger!

* * *

Why have the German workers till now tolerated this horrible exploitation, oppression, this life of poverty and hunger without undertaking a struggle on an extensive scale? In conditions of terror organized to the very last detail, an all-embracing terror beyond all description, a terror that assumes ever more refined and severe forms, the struggle of the German workers is faced with serious obstacles. A considerable section of the workers, especially those in the branches of industry of military importance, receive a comparatively tolerable wage. From time to time the capitalists make them small concessions of one kind or another. Certain sections of the working class lack faith in the possibility of a People's Front being established for the struggle against fascism in Germany. The Trotskyite agents of fascism maintain this lack of faith among the workers by every means in their power.

The main reason, however, is that the split in the ranks of the workers continues to this very day, that the leadership of the Social-Democratic Party continues to reject the united front and to sow distrust between the Communist and Social-Democratic workers.

In spite of all this the oppositional movement among the workers is growing. True, this is in greater part reflected in small and even tiny actions, protests of separate groups of workers, of separate departments, but when blatant attempts are made to intensify exploitation this also results in strikes, affecting entire factories. The way this movement develops and the forms it assumes may be seen from a confidential circular of the Kurmar Department of the "German Labor Front" which states:

"According to unanimous reports and information from the most varied under-

takings it is noted that among the personnel in enterprises, a change of sentiment is taking place incompatible with the spirit of National-Socialist factory cooperation. It has been noted hitherto that all the instructions of stewards or of the Confidence Council were fulfilled with rare exceptions without any ado, now in fulfilling their tasks they have to face difficulties. . . . Steadily a change of outlook has been observed. Rumors were spread designed to remove the stewards and Confidence Council. The readiness displayed hitherto to make sacrifices when collections were made has weakened, and there has been a marked decline in attendance at various meetings and in the carrying out of various measures."

In the autumn of 1937 the movement assumed a more stable form, particularly among sailors and miners. Fearing strikes, the fascists were compelled to increase the wages of sailors, and to cut down the union contributions for miners. A clear picture of the state of mind of the miners is shown by the result of the voting among the miners of the Saar Region. The fascists had demanded that the miners work on Sundays without extra payment. This demand met with the sharpest resistance. Finally the fascists decided to carry through a ballot and employed all the means at their disposal, such as chauvinist propaganda, threats, intimidation, etc. Yet out of 42,000 Saar workers, 40,000 refused to work on Sundays. The strength of this action is to be explained by the fact that a firm united front exists in the Saar region between the Communists and Social-Democrats and close contact has been established with the Christian workers as well. In spite of the furious terror, organized propaganda, the so-called whispering propaganda is going on among the workers, and small leaflets are distributed among them while anti-fascist slogans are written on toilet sinks, wagons, etc.

The action taken by the miners and sailors shows that a wide movement and strikes on a bigger scale are on the horizon in fascist Germany; no terror,

no persecution of the workers can finally crush or hold back this movement.

The most important thing now is to muster all the oppositional forces in the German labor movement and among the German people. Active workers of the Communist Party are already cooperating with active Social-Democrats in many localities and districts, in Berlin and Hamburg, the Rhine district, Saxony and Upper Silesia. The more advanced Social-Democratic workers are demanding with increasing insistence that their leaders join the People's Front in process of formation. Certain prominent Social-Democratic leaders have already done so.

In the conditions existing in fascist Germany there cannot and must not be any competition in the question of the leadership of the struggle against fascism. What is needed is a united fighting program for all opponents of fascism, for all adherents of liberty. This is what the Communist Party of Germany is striving for after having overcome the sectarian errors of the first years of the fascist dictatorship and still continuing to overcome errors in its ranks. The Communist Party comes up against the disintegrating activity of the Trotskyites who here also remain loyal to their role of agents and hirelings of fascism. The Trotskyite creatures assume every possible guise and make their way into the ranks of the working class along with fascist provocateurs in order to disrupt and split the workers' ranks, to prevent the formation of the united and People's Front.

The unity movement is necessary because the fascist dictatorship is preparing a terrible fate for the German people, in addition to all the torments they are undergoing now, by driving them into a new war. The most reactionary, most chauvinistic section of the German bourgeoisie is making furious preparations for war. In the conditions of the new world economic crisis now beginning the difficulties being experienced by Germany in the sphere of exports, supplies of raw materials and food are growing.

It is no accident that fascist Germany has linked up with Italian fascism and the Japanese militarists. These bankrupts and adventurers have also drained their countries of their life's blood in the pursuit of imperialist aims, and have also reduced their peoples to a position of extreme poverty. For them also a new, bloody redivision of the globe is the only one "way out."

Fascist Germany does not hesitate to resort to any crime in order to achieve its aims. Hitler made scraps of paper of international treaties. Fascist Germany has spread its network of spies in all capitalist countries; in Czechoslovakia, France, Austria, Brazil, Rumania, etc. German fascism arms fascist organizations in order to undermine the strength of these countries, to weaken them, and to doom them to the same fate as that prepared for Spain by the German fascists along with Mussolini.

The "Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis" now threatening the world is a military alliance of fascist aggressors hiding behind the slogan of "the struggle against the Comintern," and is the work of German fascism above all.

The heroic Spanish people are shedding their blood defending their liberty and independence against the German and Italian interventionists and their agent Franco. It is precisely German fascism together with its Italian ally that is barbarously wiping out the peaceful towns of Spain and murdering the defenseless population of old people, women and children. The *Ordre*, a French newspaper, printed an article by a certain diplomat under the cover of the pseudonym "Teutonicus." In this article it states that according to the recent agreement Germany and Italy are carrying through a sort of "division of labor." Italy sends an additional contingent of not less than 50,000 men to aid Franco, while Germany "undertakes completely to supply war materials," not only for Franco's troops but also for the new Italian army of intervention.

The fascists have transformed the German state into a buttress of barbarism,

ignorance, brigandage provocation and organized murder that rouses the hatred of the whole of advanced and progressive mankind. They wish to draw the whole world into a new bloody slaughter.

This crime can be prevented if the Communists, Social-Democrats, Catholics, German intellectuals put to shame by the fascists, workers and peasants, handicraft workers, those circles of the bourgeoisie "who are falling to pieces"—in a word, all the forces who constitute the overwhelming majority of the German people—rally together for joint struggle.

This unification will be carried into life with all the greater speed the sooner unity is established between the German workers, the sooner the common misfortune, the common danger, the common tasks bring about the closing of their ranks.

This process is a slow and tortuous one. In the jails and dungeons of fascism Communist and Social-Democratic workers and functionaries are perishing. The fascist bandits destroy all that is sacred, and forcibly train the German youth in the spirit of bloodthirsty chauvinism. The fascists grind in the dust and destroy the valuable objects of culture of the German people. Scoundrels and charlatans are esconced in the university chairs; 4,500 professors, including quite a number of world-famous scientists, have been driven out of Germany. The fascists bring shame to the German people by their barbarous "racial" ravings, and tread underfoot all the rights of the working people. The fascist rulers of Germany are thirsting for a new war.

But the reactionary leaders of the Social-Democratic Party in their publications, even those appearing in Ger-

many itself, fight primarily against the united front, and engage in slander of the Soviet Union. The Trotskyite agents of fascism find a haven for themselves in these Social-Democratic publications. This causes profound indignation among the best, most active section of the Social-Democratic workers.

But the Communists are not to be scared by difficulties. Persistently and patiently the German Communists are overcoming and will continue to overcome difficulties, to disperse the distrust not yet outlived between the Communist and Social-Democratic workers, by bringing about the united front with those Social-Democratic leaders who understand that today not only every Socialist but also every German democrat and even liberal must carry on the struggle against fascism, against the oppressors who bring shame to the German people.

The Communist Party of Germany, the people of Germany, are inspired in their struggle by the heroism of the peoples of Spain and China, by the progress of the French proletariat achieved on the basis of the policy enunciated by the Seventh Congress of the Comintern under the leadership of Comrade Dimitroff. The German people are inspired by the wonderful progress of the Soviet Union, by its victories on the road to communism, by the real socialist democracy embodied in the Stalin Constitution. A special source of admiration among the German people is the policy of peace firmly and resolutely pursued by the U.S.S.R. under the wise guidance of Comrade Stalin.

In all this, not only the Communists but also all bitter enemies of fascist barbarism, all those who know that only the destruction of fascism will enable them to achieve this aim draw confidence and inner strength.

The Expansion of Fascist Germany in Turkey

BY R. DAVOS

AT THE fascist congress in Nuremberg, Goebbels declared: "We are doing well . . . in Turkey as well." What basis had Goebbels for making such an assertion? Perhaps he was simply being demagogic and chattering? No, unfortunately, facts exist that give Goebbels grounds for his boasting.

Turkey was always a good titbit for the imperialist powers, especially for German imperialism. Despite the fact that in 1922 the imperialists received their first serious answer from the Turkish people, they have not yet relinquished their rapacious designs.

German imperialist capital began to penetrate into Turkey well before the imperialist war. This penetration increased on the eve of its outbreak, and during the war German imperialism extended its economic and political influence in Turkey and used it as a colony.

But after the World War, out of which German imperialism emerged weakened and conquered, it was unable for a long time to play its former active role in Turkey; its positions there had been weakened.

The people won their national independence at the cost of their blood, but in order to consolidate the political independence they had won they had to destroy the positions and buttresses of foreign capital which had held back the economic and political development of Turkey. They had to eliminate the remains of feudalism, destroy reaction and the agents of imperialism and organize the mass of people, downtrodden by the bloody regime of the Sultans, and en-

sure themselves economic, political, social and cultural rights.

National industry—the foundation of the economic independence of any country—began to be set up. Part of the main economic undertakings and concessions in the hands of foreign capital gradually, though slowly, was bought up by the state. The state bought out the Anatoly-Bagdad railway, formerly a strong trump-card in the hands of German imperialism in Turkey. The state also took over control of the "Argani" copper mines. A decline began in the activity of German capital in a number of economic enterprises, and the activity of the German banks (branches of the *Deutsche Gesellschaftsbank* and the *Deutsche Bank*) narrowed down, etc.

A change began to take place in the picture with the advent to power of fascism in Germany. Fascist Germany once more turned its greedy eyes towards Turkey. On this point the newspaper *Haber* of October 20, 1937, writes:

"We must draw serious attention to the methods of Germany, which is at the head of all the predatory states, and formerly also regarded our fatherland with a greedy appetite. It is clear that the aims of the Germany of Wilhelm and of that of the present fascist regime coincide."

Another Turkish newspaper, *Tan*, also writes the same thing:

"The fascist imperialist powers have once more divided up the world among themselves. In that division Turkey has fallen to the share of Germany. . . . And Germany is working on this share."

Geographically, Turkey is situated on the roads of expansion of the aggressive, fascist imperialism of Germany and Italy which are striving to make a way to the East through the Balkans and Mediterranean Sea. Therefore, in pursuing their aggressive policy, the German fascists are trying to win the confidence of Turkey and convert it into a base for attack upon the U.S.S.R. They disguise their aggressive plans to look like the creation of economic, social and cultural relations with Turkey.

The imperialist countries, especially fascist Germany, utilize every difficulty in the way of our people in the struggle to consolidate the independence they have won, and strive to increase their influence in Turkey.

The 1929-34 crisis which hit the whole of the capitalist world also affected Turkish economy, which had only just begun to get on its feet. This can be illustrated by the foreign trade of Turkey. In the year 1930 Turkey's total exports amounted to 150,000,000 Turkish lire; in 1933 the figure fell to 90,000,000. After that the export figure rose very slowly and reached 115,000,000 lire in 1936. Turkey's total imports in 1930 amounted to 145,000,000 Turkish lire. In 1933 they fell to 75,000,000. And only in 1936 did they rise to 90,000,000 lire.

It should be borne in mind that the sharp drop in imports was the consequence of the government's policy of protecting national industry.

However, in examining the figures quoted, it should be noted that whereas in 1930, France took 12 per cent of Turkey's total exports, in 1936 it only took 3.1 per cent; imports from France to Turkey reached 10.1 per cent in 1930, and in 1936 dropped to 2.5 per cent.

At the same time Turkey's exports to Britain in 1930 equaled 8.8 per cent of her total exports and in 1936 only 5 per cent; imports correspondingly fell from 12 to 6.3 per cent.

Exports to Italy in 1930 amounted to 21.1 per cent of Turkey's total exports. In 1936 the figure declined to 3.6 per cent, while imports declined from 14 per

cent to 2.2 per cent. Turkey's participation in economic sanctions against Italy during Italy's rapacious war against Ethiopia influenced this sharp curtailment in exports and imports between Turkey and Italy.

As against the above data, Turkey's exports to Germany, which amounted only to 10.6 per cent in 1931, rose to 51 per cent in 1936. Imports from Germany to Turkey for the same years increased from 21 per cent to 45.9 per cent*

For the first four months of 1937, Turkey's exports to Germany amounted to 51.6 per cent or 23,000,000 Turkish lire, while the total amount of exports for that period equaled 44,000,000. Turkey's imports from Germany for that period amounted to 49.6 per cent. Quite as good an illustration of the comparative growth of foreign trade between Turkey and Germany is given by the figures below for the first nine months of the last four years.

	1934	1935	1936	1937
	(in million marks)			
Turkey's exports to Germany..	30.3	57.4	75.0	84.5
Turkey's imports from Germany.	39.5	51.7	57.0	66.9**

The figures indicate that the last nine months of 1937 as compared with the corresponding months of 1933 show that Turkey's exports to Germany increased by 17.4 per cent, and imports from Germany by 15.8 per cent.

Turkish foreign trade reached its lowest level in the years 1932-33. And it was precisely at this difficult moment that Germany, the "generous" client and cunning dealer, began to increase her trading relations with Turkey. The Turkish *Tan* of November 11, 1937, writes on this point:

* All these figures are from the *Istanbul Trade and Industrial Chamber Gazette* for July, 1937.

** Figures from the *Yeniasyr* of November 16, 1937, as quoted in German statistics.

"The world crisis seized us also in 1929-32. There were no purchasers left for the goods we exported, and so we were compelled to extend trading relations with Germany."

It is interesting to examine the forms and mechanics of Turko-German trading relations:

1. According to the existing Turko-German trade agreement, Turkey had the right to export to Germany 20 per cent more commodities than it imported from Germany.

2. Goods bought in Germany were paid for by the clearing system.

3. The evaluation of goods took place according to a rate exchange of the mark established in advance. Formally the rate of exchange of the mark was high, but on the exchange it was quoted very low, as "rotten." The clearing system and the "rotten" mark ensured that Germany would sell her goods at high prices, and buy Turkish goods cheaply. As can be seen, Germany gained most in this trading.

Attention should be called to still another feature of the trading relations of these countries: in 1936 Germany bought 75 per cent of the total raisins exported from Turkey, 60 per cent of the figs, 25 per cent of the nuts, 24 per cent of the tobacco, 35 per cent of the fresh fruit, etc. Why did the Hitler clique buy raisins, figs, nuts, etc., in Turkey, when guns are brought to the table of the German people instead of butter and bread? The answer to this question is given by the Turkish *Tan* in its issue of March 24, 1937:

"There was no need for Germany to acquire these goods particularly in Turkey. She could have bought them on other markets. . . . But it was in this way that she wanted to secure the monopoly of the country's exports and rule over the internal economy of Turkey."

Moreover, while buying these cheap commodities on instalments, Germany sold them to other countries. Thus, on the one hand she acquired foreign currency, and on the other hand secured

control of Turkey's foreign markets. The results of this trade turned out to the disadvantage of Turkey. Germany constantly withdrew goods from Turkey, becoming Turkey's debtor to such an extent that, judging from the words of the Prime Minister, Jemal Bayar, the sum total three months ago of Germany's unpaid debts for Turkish goods was about 88,000,000 marks or 43,000,000 Turkish lire.

In a word, the German fascists spent 43,000,000 lire to arm their gangs.

The *Tan* of October 19, 1937, sums up the results of the trade relations between Turkey and Germany, and writes:

"We know that by her expansion towards the East, fascist Germany is conducting a policy of converting Turkey and the Balkan countries into dependent countries in one form or another. This policy gave positive results in the Balkans and, in particular, in Turkey during the period of the European crisis. Thus, Germany has made these countries economically dependent upon her."

In another place the same newspaper, in an article entitled "New German Colonies," shows how Germany, by buying essential goods and raw materials in Turkey, tries to convert the latter, without extra expenditure, without maintaining special troops, etc., into a country dependent upon Germany (in a concealed or open form).

Such results of Turko-German trade relations undoubtedly menace the independence of Turkey. The Ismet Inenu government saw this as well. And so it advised the Central Bank of the Republic to cease the payment of credits to German exporters, raised the question of accounts and the payment of the German debt accumulated as a result of the clearing system.

With this aim in view, a protocol was signed in Berlin two or three months ago, according to which:

1. Germany must pay off the debt accumulated to date in the course of one year.

2. Germany's debt will be partly cov-

ered by a short-term Turkish debt (Germany has begun to contribute bonds as part of the debt, with the result that the rate of exchange of the bonds of the Turkish "Uni ture" foreign loans, has begun to fall on the exchange).

3. Germany gives Turkey rebates on the purchase of goods on account of this debt (thus Germany acquires yet another opportunity of selling her goods).

4. The conclusion of triple agreements is introduced with those countries to which Turkey is indebted as a result of the clearing system, and which, in their turn, are Germany's debtors. According to these agreements, the German debt to Turkey is partially covered at the expense of debts owing by Turkey herself to these third countries. Moreover, Turkey will resell to these countries the goods supplied to her by Germany (thus Turkey becomes an intermediary for the resale of Germany goods).

All this shows that such a solution of the question has, as a result of the non-cash basis of settlement of Germany's debts, turned out rather to Germany's advantage than otherwise. Turkey has become still further entangled in the web of fascist Germany. But Turkey could not refuse to accept such an agreement, since these monies represent so much "frozen capital" for her.

At the same time the old trade agreement was renewed between Germany and Turkey:

1. The exports and imports of the two countries to be equalized—up to now Turkey's exports to Germany have exceeded her imports;

2. Germany's exports to Turkey are not to exceed 40,000,000 Turkish lire per annum. In Germany's exports, goods exported to pay off the non-cash debt are not taken into account.

3. Trade operations take place on the basis of the Turkish lire.

4. Both countries pledge themselves not to resell on other markets the goods purchased from each other.

By concluding this trade agreement, Turkey frees herself of the "rotten" mark and sets up a few barriers against

the trading maneuvers of fascist Germany in Turkey. But this trade agreement, of course, does not rid Turkey of her fettering trade relations with Germany.

Despite the negative results, dangerous to the independence of Turkey, of the trade relations of these countries, some Turkish exporters still want these relations extended. The big compradore exporters lose nothing on the business, because they acquire agricultural products from the peasantry at very low prices. This enables them to sell goods in Germany in turn at very low prices and on the instalment system. For them what is important is not the maintenance of Turkey's independence but the receipt of profits. Recently the German Imports Bureau has been making its main purchases in Turkey through these intermediaries. In recent days Turkish newspapers have been making a noise about the fact that:

"Germany trades with exporters who have reserves of goods and big capital concentrated in their hands. This gives Germany a monopolist position on our markets."

The small exporters and traders have suffered severely from foreign trade with Germany. They are now afraid to enter trading relations with Germany for the additional reason that Germany pays for bought goods only nine months later, a position beyond the capacity of the small exporters. Such a situation creates discontent inside the country and a movement of protest among the small exporters.

Germany's economic penetration into Turkey goes on through other channels as well. Big German companies undertake contracts for the building of new bridges, electric power stations, railways and motor roads. Germany supplies Turkey with engines, coaches, rails, and accepts orders for the building of ships. Thus, for example, the firm of Krupps alone, at the beginning of 1937, received an order for the building of twelve

freight steamers and packet boats. Germany also fulfils war orders.

Moreover, it should not be forgotten that about 15 per cent of Turkey's foreign debt is to Germany.

Latterly Germany has increased her demand for cotton, wool, chrome ore and other war materials, and intends to buy up the Turkish cotton harvest for several years ahead. To this end German experts have several times toured the whole of Turkey's cotton regions.

To the same end, Schacht, the German Minister, visited Turkey at the end of 1936 with the proposal that German capital be given a concession for all the irrigation works in Turkey. Behind this proposal was the plan to subordinate Turkey's agriculture to Germany.

However, the greedy appetite of Germany does not stop at this. It wants to penetrate all spheres of our economy. A short time ago Hitler personally proposed to the Turkish Minister of Communications during the latter's visit to Germany to conclude an agreement for the extension of civil air lines in Turkey.

As we see, fascist Germany's ways and methods of expansion in Turkey are very varied.

THE PENETRATION INTO TURKEY OF GERMAN FASCISM AND ITS AGENTS

All the efforts of fascist Germany are directed towards turning Turkish agriculture into its appendage.

There is a point of view dangerous for the independence of the country. It has met with a response even from the tribune of the Great National Assembly where it was expressed in the words that "for us it is important that we sell our goods." But that is not the point. Goods will, of course, be sold, but what is essential for the life of Turkey is that, while selling her goods, she does not sell the independence of the country.

The development of trading relations, the extension of economic, political and cultural relations with the U.S.S.R., with the country that is the bulwark of peace, not only does not menace the independence of Turkey but, on the contrary, strengthens its independence, because the

Soviet Union is the only country in the world that pursues no private aims, and has helped the economic rise and growth of Turkey. With the aid of the Soviet Union huge textile plants have been set up of which the Turkish Republic is proud. Unlike other countries, the U.S.S.R. has never made use of the material help it has afforded to injure the national independence of Turkey. The *Yeniasyr* of October 14, 1937, writes:

"The foreign policy of the Soviet Union aims at consolidating peace. Up to the present we have never seen even a hint of aggression in the actions of our great neighbor."

The same newspaper of July 6, 1937, writes:

"The Soviet Union was the first and only power to stretch out a friendly hand to us when we were fighting for our independence against the hostile attacks of the whole world."

This irrefutable truth is not to be denied even by the *Jumhuriyet*, the mouth-piece of fascism in Turkey. This is what it wrote in its issue of October 6, 1936:

"We are most of all glad that the new regime which took the place of tsarist Russia has rejected imperialist intentions once and for all. Moreover, the Soviet regime, imbued with great human ideals, has begun war upon all kinds of imperialism."

The hopes and aims of fascist Germany towards Turkey, however, are quite different. The newspaper *Tan* speaks clearly of this in its issue of October 12, 1937:

"Germany, possessing the influence of a strong client, tries its utmost to make this influence political and so take Turkey in tow. . . . Germany, in enslaving Turkey economically, is trying to make her a tool of her policy. . . . We had a good taste of the meaning of being taken in tow during the imperialist war. The German militarists deleted the word 'Turkey' from their vocabulary, called it 'Enverland' and plundered it like a colony."

The first step towards making Tur-

key a tool of German policy, towards subordinating her to its influence, is the endeavor of fascist Germany to win Turkey away from her friends. On what do the fascists reckon in their plans? Are there tendencies in Turkey leading fascist Germany to believe in the realization of these plans? Yes, in Turkey there really are tendencies facilitating the realization of these foul intentions; they find their way into speeches made in the Great National Assembly, and even in the programs of the new Cabinet. These tendencies are expressed in the fact of relying more and more in foreign policies upon the Balkan and Eastern pacts, and on maintaining "neutrality," allegedly to defend peace.

Of course, the Balkan and Eastern pacts are based on the principle of peace and strengthen it somewhat. But we know perfectly well that all the efforts and stress made by Germany today amount to subordinating the Balkan states to her influence. The German fascists themselves do not conceal this. This is what the *Deutsche Allgemeinezeitung* says:

"It goes without saying that great interest is felt in Germany in the development of the states of Southeast Europe; to direct this development is the open aim of Germany's foreign policy."

And the newspaper *Germania* declares:

"... in the Danube countries and in the Balkans there is only one policy: to be together with Germany. Here no policy can ever be carried on that is against Germany."

The reliance in foreign politics upon the Balkan and Eastern pacts and the "neutrality" policy affords an opportunity of Germany easily to penetrate into Turkey, to isolate Turkey from her friends and to win Turkey away from the peace standpoint and from the allies of peace. It is clear that the "neutrality" policy is fatal for Turkey.

The plans and intentions of fascist Germany in this respect were well il-

lustrated by the newspaper *Haber* of June 12, 1937, when it said:

"This is what Germany and Italy want: to sow differences between the powers belonging to the Little Entente and the Balkan pact [it should not be forgotten that Turkey is a party to the Balkan pact]; to break the friendly ties between these powers and the Soviet Union; to destroy the alliance of these powers with France. Thus, by separating these countries from each other, and from their friends, to leave them isolated and convert each one of them separately into a colony of Germany and Italy."

It is precisely with this aim in view that fascist Germany is doing her utmost to make use of the vacillations in the foreign policy of Turkey. For example, fascist Germany made immediate use of Turkey's vacillations during the negotiations on the Straits at Montreaux, being strongly desirous of undermining the friendly ties between Turkey and the U.S.S.R. During the negotiations, the Turkish press spread rumors that "Turkey is joining the Franco-Soviet pact." The German fascist press unashamedly howled out that "Turkey cannot join any such pacts which are directed against Germany. . . . She will not dare to do it."

During the solution of the Alexandretta question, the fascist powers openly provoked Turkey to resort to adventurous action. They did their utmost to kindle a conflagration and bring about bloodshed between Turkey and Syria. Then, during the Nyon conference, fascist Germany and Italy tried all possible to bring pressure to bear upon Turkey. Through their agents in Turkey they threw mud and slander at the Soviet Union. All these efforts were directed towards winning Turkey away from the platform of peace and spoiling her relations with her friends.

In order to secure control over Turkey and attach it to her policy, Germany is recruiting its agents in Turkey. Is there suitable material for this purpose in Turkey? The clique connected with foreign capital, with German markets, big ex-

porters, reactionary elements, enemies of the national independence of the country, provide such material. The German fascists are not idle. They are recruiting their agents, creating their cadres.

FASCIST AGENTS AND FASCIST PROPAGANDA

Although no legally formed fascist organization exists in Turkey today, there are fascist tendencies, for the time being in concealed form, which only rarely reveal themselves. Agents of German fascism do not hesitate to act openly. This is what the *Haber* writes: "Is there in Turkey any real fascist propaganda that has to be dragged out by the roots? We cannot say no." And the *Tan* of October 19, 1937, writes the following:

"At the present time in Istanbul and Anatoly there is material to indicate that fascism is working in organized fashion. There are groups scattered throughout the country which conduct anti-Semitic, fascist propaganda, and regularly issue pamphlets and books. They penetrate unnoticed into state institutions. Sometimes they appear openly and even blatantly in the press."

The *Haber* writes:

"We must pay serious attention to the newspapers which spread these ideas. If we read certain newspapers carefully, we see Germany and Japan between the lines."

One of the channels through which fascism penetrates into Turkey is the press. German fascism has begun to recruit its agents on this arena as well. For example, the *Jumhuriyet* and its editorial offices are under the influence of German fascism, by which many of the staff have been bribed. These agents of fascism openly dance to the tune of Hitler and laud his aggressive plans. On March 2, 1937, the *Jumhuriyet* wrote: "To satisfy Germany's demands means to assist universal peace." Another issue declared: "Hitler demands colonies. . . . Germany is restricted territorially, yet she has the right to live like everybody

else; Germany must be given new territories." Venomous agents of fascism are cynically and shamelessly prepared to sell the independence of Turkey to fascist, imperialist Germany. They laud the bloody Hitler regime and defend the "pure race" theory. This is what the *Haber* writes on this point: "Defending the 'pure race' theory by *Jumhuriyet* openly asserts that it is a warm supporter of German fascism. . . ."

Anti-Semitism and the "pure race" theory are features of the purest fascism. The *Jumhuriyet* openly displays its sympathies towards fascism. It took up the defense of Goebbels' statement and began to attack the Turkish newspapers that protested. This newspaper, in order to blind the vigilance of the Turkish people and confuse them, shouts from the housetops: "There is no need to create a bad atmosphere against such a friendly country. . . . What is there dangerous here? . . . Where is the fascist propaganda here? . . . We have nothing to fear from fascist propaganda." Thus like an advocate of Goebbels it wants to inoculate the Turkish people with fascist ideas. It declares that fascism is no danger to the independence of the country.

But the replies given by other Turkish newspapers are very correct. For example the *Haber* writes: "Anti-Bolshevism is a masked form of fascism and Nazism." The *Tan* is even stronger in condemning this mouthpiece of fascism:

"The *Jumhuriyet*," it says, "is Goebbels' advocate. To conduct fascist propaganda, to defend it, to clear the way for it means to undermine the independence of the country. . . . This means to reduce us to the level of slaves. . . . The encroachment of the fascists and the fascist states on the independence of the nation can be clearly seen by all. Spain, China and Ethiopia lie like three wounded lions. . . . And this is what the *Jumhuriyet* and its chief editor, Junus Nadi, want. Does he, perhaps, want to be a Franco?"

Fascist propaganda is not restricted merely to this newspaper. Speeches, photographs of Hitler, Goebbels and Goering appear in the newspapers daily

to such an extent that it has called forth the protest of anti-fascists.

The German branch of the D.N.B. conducts its work openly. The chief of this Bureau, M. Brell, brazenly sends articles to the Turkish press. Moreover, there frequently appear in the fascist press demagogic declarations and assertions that "the Turks belong to the Aryan race." The German fascists use every opportunity to extend fascist propaganda, even cultural and sporting connections, doing their utmost to restore the "old Turkish-German friendship." Delegations from newspapers, teachers, sports clubs are invited from Turkey to Germany. Large groups of from two hundred to three hundred tourists often travel from Germany to Turkey.

Another channel for spreading fascism is through Germans living in Turkey employed in many trading firms, in the banks, in universities as holders of chairs, in industrial plants as engineers and technicians. They have their own clubs and libraries. These Germans sent their delegation to take part in the Fifth Congress that took place in Stuttgart of "Organizations of Germans Abroad." These people recruit fascist agents in Turkey and resort to various machinations to undermine the economy of Turkey. For example, after the conclusion of the Turko-German trade agreement, these people organized a panic on the exchange in order to reduce the value of the Turkish lira, since, according to the new agreement, trading operations had to take place on the basis of the Turkish lira.

The third channel for fascist propaganda and the recruiting of cadres is through the young Turkish students in Germany. Eighty per cent of the young Turkish students are in Germany. German fascists and their agents in Turkey pay great attention to these young people in the hope of recruiting them for their own purposes. This is what the *Jumhuriyet* of March 1, 1937, writes:

"The young people and intellectuals studying in Germany have yet another duty to perform besides that to their

own fatherland: namely, to apply in Turkey everything they see in Germany, to inoculate our people with it."

These are the hopes held out by the fascists concerning these students. There are also businessmen, their agents, agents of trading bureaus, etc., in Germany besides the students.

The fourth channel through which the German fascists try to use their influence is the army and the officers. At the present time there are many German military experts in the Turkish army. Many Turkish officers are trained in the military art in Germany. The German fascists attach great importance to this channel. A short while ago a military delegation arrived in Turkey and toured and examined the barracks, officers' billets, military schools. The chairman of this delegation gave the following interview to the Turkish press:

"We have been visiting your country at the invitation of the Turkish government. . . . There is a fighting link between the German and Turkish armies which began during the time of the imperialist war. We are very much interested and are watching the development and progress of the Turkish army."

There is yet another group striving to develop the fascist movement in Germany. At the head of it is an old reserve officer, the son of a big landowner, a certain Jevat Rifat. He went to Germany, met fascist leaders, and even Goebbels. After his visit he returned to Turkey with money and instructions. His group began to publish fascist pamphlets, books, newspapers, periodicals such as the *Voice of Istanbul*, *Ineli Fichi*, etc. They carried on such insolent propaganda that the government had to prohibit and hand them over to the courts.

The fifth channel for spreading fascism consists of the arrant supporters of the Sultans and the remnants of feudalism. The clergy and people who support them carry on propaganda under the slogan "Fascism restores religion." This is what the *Höber* writes:

"Fascism displays itself as a supporter

of religion on questions of restoring the reactionary order; it is gradually covering one village after another. The fascists are joined by adventurists, the scum of society, ignorant people. Among these supporters are the remains of the old state machine, elements and groups whom the revolution deprived of rights, and also traitors to the fatherland."

It is through these channels that fascist propaganda travels; it is from these elements that the fascists recruit their agents and cadres.

There is no genuine, broad democracy for the Turkish people in Turkey. Public opinion cannot oppose fascism and fascist tendencies openly or in organized fashion. The government of the People's Party decides questions of foreign and home policy within a narrow circle of people. It is poorly connected with the broad masses of the people. Therefore the fascists try to find supporters among the Right-inclined ruling strata.

But the wide masses of the Turkish people know full well what it means to live under the oppression of imperialism and under the guardianship of an imperialist state. They have an excellent idea of the meaning of living in chains. They see that fascism is hostile towards the independence of nations. The Turkish people see that fascism means war, hunger and barbarism, the most dangerous enemy of the toiling masses. The anti-fascist feelings of the Turkish people are growing every day. The hatred of the people for fascism and their love of democracy are displayed in such a form that even the Left Kemalist newspapers have been compelled to reflect these feelings. But the government is doing its utmost to restrain active manifestations of the anti-fascist sentiments of the Turkish people.

In order to smash the plans and aspirations of fascist Germany in Turkey, to deal a blow at the agents of fascism, to preserve the national independence of Turkey, to prevent Turkey falling under the yoke of imperialism, and to live like free people and not slaves, the living conditions of the masses of the people

must be improved, and the economic, political, cultural and social level of the workers, peasants, artisans, small officials raised.

Fascism fears the class-consciousness and organization of the masses, therefore the Turkish masses must be given the right freely to organize against fascism. Fascism fears strong and broad democracy of the people directed against reaction. This means the wide masses of the people of our country must be ensured democratic rights: freedom of organization, of speech, meetings, press, etc. These democratic rights must not be given to supporters of reaction, agents of fascism and enemies of the national independence of the country.

Fascism easily establishes its nest, especially in old bureaucratic and anti-popular state institutions. This means that the army, the state machine, the schools, cultural and economic institutions, etc., must be purged of fascist agents and reactionary elements.

Fascism is the enemy of peace. The Turkish people thirst for peace. Therefore all the advanced masses of the Turkish people, all progressive elements and all revolutionary groups must unite in a single People's Front. Only such an extensive unification of the masses of Turkey will be able successfully to fight against the agents of fascism in Turkey, only such unity will deliver a devastating blow at the plans of the warmongers and the designs of German fascism to enslave Turkey.

The Turkish people withstood the first blow of imperialism and its agents in 1922, because they were united. In order not to fall under a similar blow in the future, it is necessary now already to get the toiling masses united on an extensive scale. The Turkish working class, the Turkish peasantry want to live in freedom. They recognize that this can only be achieved if their forces are gathered in a united front of struggle against fascism. The Turkish people do not forget one thing: national independence is indivisible, it is political, economic, social and cultural independence.

The January Strike in Austria in 1918

BY F. FURNBERG

TWENTY years ago, in January, 1918, there took place in Brest-Litovsk the first peace negotiations between the young Russian Soviet Republic and the monarchist powers of Central Europe. Lenin's worldwide radio appeal, proposing peace to all the peoples, met with a deep response at the front and behind the lines. Worn out by the war and exploitation, the masses of the people turned their eyes toward the East, toward the revolutionary power that had just come into being and was striving for peace.

Two worlds clashed. The Soviet Republic was fighting for peace, for the self-determination of nations—the slogans under which Lenin had led the workers and peasants of Russia to victory. The generals and ministers of Wilhelm II and Karl Hapsburg imperatively demanded the achievement of the imperialistic war aims of their bourgeoisie, namely, the linking up of Poland and the border states to the Kaiser powers. The Austrian people, like the Germans, thirsted for peace with their Russian brethren, but all the ruling classes were thinking of was how to increase their profits, to extend the domains of the country exploited by them. The peace negotiations dragged on.

On January 12, the German General Hoffman thumped his fist on the table and demanded the immediate and unconditional acceptance of the conditions proposed by the Central European powers. He received a rapid reply, though one quite unexpected both to himself and his Austrian allies. For on January 14 the workers of Lower Austria struck work; on January 16 the workers of Vienna followed suit. On

January 17 and 18 the strike in Austria and Hungary became general. The militancy of the Austrian proletariat, enthused by the example of revolutionary Russia, found a revolutionary outlet from the situation that had developed.

The historic January strike in Austria, characterized by Lenin as a heroic struggle of the Austrian workers against the imperialist war—a strike with every chance of being completely successful and so foully crushed by the Social-Democratic leaders—began in a small industrial town not far from Vienna, in Wiener Neustadt. This was no accident, since it was here that the “Left Radicals” had their organizations. These weak organizations had no clear idea yet of the ways and aims of the struggle, but were full of revolutionary determination and were ready to undertake, along with the entire mass of the proletariat, a resolute struggle for peace and liberty. The strike was caused by a reduction of 50 per cent in the flour ration. But the inner-moving force of it was the desire of the masses for peace, the militant determination to overthrow the military dictatorship, the enthusiasm at the example of the great October socialist revolution in Russia. The January strike of 1918 in Austria was a direct consequence of the great proletarian revolution in Russia.

The will of the masses was clearly expressed in an illegal leaflet that breathed the revolutionary, fighting spirit of the Austrian proletariat. “The people are arising!” announced this leaflet. “The Russian workers and soldiers by mass strikes, revolts and street fighting fought not only for their *own* liberty. No! They shed their blood for the lib-

eration of *all* the nations of the earth from the torments of the war, from the yoke of capitalism!" The leaflet called for a general strike and ended with the following appeal: "Gather together on the streets and public squares! Elect your workers' soviets as they have done in Russia! Victory will be assured by mass action of the proletariat!"

This leaflet was an echo of the revolution that had begun. Against the militant, revolutionary feelings of the masses there rose up not only the ruling classes, but also the Social-Democratic leaders. These leaders were overwhelmed at the strength of the mass revolutionary strike no less than was the imperial government, but they immediately undertook the task of "putting an end to the strike." They set about this task quite voluntarily. And this was the logical result of the Social-Democratism that replaces consistent revolutionary class struggle by civil peace with the bourgeoisie. They did everything possible to prevent the mass strike breaking out and proved to be in a position as soon as it broke out to take over the leadership of it. In doing this their aim was not to extend the strike and join with the soldiers and sailors in undertaking a revolutionary mass struggle, but to put an end to it as soon as possible. In this there was complete unanimity between the Rights and the so-called "Lefts" led by Otto Bauer.

Like the ruling classes, they trembled at the development of the revolutionary energy of the masses, at the inevitability of a consistent revolutionary mass struggle against the ruling class. There was fundamentally no difference at all in the period of the January strikes between the behavior of the German and the Austrian Social-Democratic Parties. The only difference was in form. The former came out openly and directly against the strike, while the latter crushed it with the aid of pseudo-Marxist arguments. Therefore the former cynically admit their method of action to be the right one, while the others wish to repudiate

it. In an article entitled "The January Strike of 1918," published in the *Neue Vorwaerts* (January, 1938), Stampfer writes quite bluntly that the tremendous strike that broke out in Germany in January, 1918, took place against the wishes of the Social-Democratic Party. Here are the words he uses:

"It was never characteristic of leading German Social-Democrats, regardless of the camp to which they belonged, to be drawn into adventures where the outcome was indefinite. Therefore, I do not think that the majority of the comrades who were at that time in the camp of the independents were filled with enthusiasm at this strike."

And they did everything possible to show that they were not "filled with enthusiasm," to show that they were ready to break the strike and to support the "Scoundrel General" Groener.*

Stampfer juggles with the facts in his articles when he declares that the general strike was to a certain degree supported by the Royal and Imperial governments.

"At that time a protest strike broke out in Vienna that was very likely not regarded unfavorably by the government there, which did not have great faith in Prussian stamina. . . ."

Do the Austrian proletariat still need to be defended against this unheard-of slander? Who does not know of the behavior of the Austrian government, which adopted punitive measures against the revolutionary proletariat?

Mockery of the difficult struggle of the Austrian workers during the war; the attempt to delete their revolutionary traditions and the revolutionary struggle by transforming it into collaboration with the reactionary government—such is this Social-Democratism which is designed to split the working class.

* This general had declared that every striker was a scoundrel; from that time on this general retained the nickname of "Scoundrel General."

In his book about the Austrian revolution Otto Bauer uses wrong, pseudo-Marxist arguments to justify the capitulatory policy of the Social-Democratic leadership. In this book he asserts that the strike movement did not cover the Czech areas of the Austrian empire. In reality, however, the general strike took place not only in Brunn, as Otto Bauer declares, but also in Moravian Ostrau and Brux, and on January 22 in Prague as well. It is true that Social-Democracy failed to bring the Austrian and Czech workers into a united front. The want and distress of the Czech workers were no less than the want and distress of the Austrian workers. No less was their striving for peace, their hatred of the ruling classes, of the Kaiser, the palace camarilla and the capitalists. Added to this was the hatred caused by national oppression. The resolute defense of the interests of the working class, the struggle for peace, against exploitation, against national oppression—all this demanded that the general strike be extended as widely as possible to the point of overthrowing the government of the day. There can be no doubt that a united fighting front between the German and Czecho-Slovak workers could have been brought into being in the process of this struggle.

Otto Bauer also quotes other arguments in defense of the Social-Democratic leadership who demanded an end to the strike. According to his words the Bosnians and Croats would have used armed force to crush the struggle of the Austrian and Hungarian masses, had it continued. But Otto Bauer himself feels how groundless these arguments are, since it was impossible not to see that the January movement was deeply rooted among the people and was distinguished by its wide scope and, what is more, by that time there were no longer any Bosnians or Croats to operate as a reliable support of the imperial government. Therefore Otto Bauer hastens to argue further about the German army which, according to his opinion, would have oc-

cupied Austria had the Austrian proletariat overthrown their government. This shows not only fear of the revolutionary movement of the masses, but also a lack of faith in their strength.

At the same time as the Austrian working class undertook action, the German proletariat was also filled with profound indignation. A wave of tremendous strikes spread throughout the length and breadth of Germany, the German army began markedly to disintegrate; all of which showed that German imperialism was undergoing serious difficulties. The bourgeoisie and bureaucracy of Austria had already lost faith in victory. The government machine was shaking, a process of disintegration had set in. A dozen national minorities on the territory of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy were ready to begin a struggle for their liberation. The peoples of Austro-Hungary, led by the proletariat, were anxious to put an end to the war by revolutionary means and to follow the example of Russia. The Soviets of Workers' Deputies only just formed constituted such a tremendous force that the President of the Council of Ministers was compelled to listen to their demands.

In face of this militancy of the masses it was possible in these conditions by a consistent revolutionary movement to bring about the overthrow of the government and to take the first step toward revolution. It was not the threat of a German onslaught at all that hindered this; it was prevented by Social-Democratism that mortally hated the revolution.

On January 20 mass open-air meetings of strikers took place. The Social-Democratic leaders used pacifist phrases, painted a dark picture of the condition of the strike, thereby to oppose the will of the workers to continue the strike to the end. This position of Social-Democracy cost the Austrian people more sacrifices, blood and suffering than did the following nine months of the war, than would have been demanded by a revolutionary struggle, not to mention the tre-

mendous sacrifices made by the Austrian working class in the later period only to find themselves in the end under the jackboot of fascism.

The struggle to continue the strike went on for two days in the factories and at mass meetings. At that time Left revolutionary workers came forward for the first time in their masses, openly and directly declaring against the tactics of the Social-Democratic leadership. But the organization of the "Left Radicals" was too weak and acted rather by revolutionary instinct than really on the basis of revolutionary Marxist consciousness, and therefore they were beaten. These Left workers' groups were the first embryo of the new, really revolutionary workers' party, the Communist Party. The Communist Party of Austria came into being at the end of 1918 as a party which had inscribed the program of Leninism on its banner.

The strike was crushed, the bourgeoisie came to life again, and throughout the country there began a wave of arrests of revolutionary workers. But no violent measures could now save the old regime. The January strike—the direct consequence of the October socialist revolution—in spite of all roused the revolutionary consciousness of the masses, while the further development of the great proletarian revolution still further strengthened it. In January, 1918, the Social-Democratic leadership succeeded in saving the domination of the Kaiser; in November, 1918, however, it was no longer able to do so. The wave of revolution swept over the whole of Central Europe.

Twenty years have passed since the January strike. The Austrian proletariat is under the heel of the fascist dictatorship, has lost all that it won in the revolutionary battles of 1918.

The development of the events of the last twenty years shows with absolute clarity how correct was Comrade Dimitroff when, in his article entitled "The Soviet Union and the Working Class of the Capitalist Countries" and also in his

"Letter to Austrian Workers," he wrote:

"Instead of the promised peaceful, painless transition to socialism, Social-Democratism, by its entire policy of capitulation and schism, cleared the way for the victory of fascism."

Is it possible now to find a single revolutionary worker who does not see that the roots of this defeat lie in the Social-Democratism of the Renners and Otto Bauers, who during the January strike robbed the working class of victory? Can one still meet any honest proletarian revolutionist who does not wish from the bottom of his soul or who is not ready to fight to secure that Social-Democratism is overcome, that the corresponding lessons are drawn from the past? There is only one road to this! This is the road of working class unity, the mustering of all the people around the working class. The January strike is proof of the fact that the split introduced by Social-Democratism into the ranks of the proletariat leads to defeat. The struggle against fascism has confirmed this a hundred times over. The struggle against fascism makes the need for this unification a hundred times more necessary than ever.

The January strike is part of the great revolutionary traditions of the Austrian proletariat. The Austrian working class again showed its militant revolutionary spirit in 1927 and 1934. The Austrian proletariat draws from its revolutionary past strength, power and a better understanding of the road leading to new great revolutionary battles.

The struggle has now become more difficult. The working class is again fighting against war, against a war before which the World War of 1914-18 pales. The fascist powers have already begun this war and wish to transform it into a war of destruction against the whole of civilized mankind. Austria is precisely one of the points against which the fascist vultures are directing their attacks, while the "dictatorship of estates," operated in the main by those

sections of the nation against whom the January strike was directed in 1918, is rendering them assistance. Now more than ever before must the whole of the people be mobilized against these enemies, for an independent democratic Austria; now more than ever before must the people unite with the proletariat and the masses of the neighboring small countries.

During the January strike of 1918 the Austrian people drew their strength from the experience of the proletarian revolution in Russia. Now, at the head

of the working people of the whole world there stands a mighty socialist state, an invincible force defending the independence of the small nations.

The proletariat draws lessons from the past, hammers out its militant unity, links up with the masses of the people, fights together with the Soviet Union for the final and inevitable triumph of the aims of the January battles of 1918 in Austria, for peace and the liberation of the working people through the whole world.

The Berlin Metal Workers' Strike in 1918

BY K. FUNK

TWENTY years ago, on January 28, 1918, 400,000 metal workers employed in the munitions works of Berlin downed tools and declared a strike. Within a day the number of strikers increased to 500,000 and the strike spread to the munitions works of the Rhineland, Westphalia, Hamburg, Leipzig, Munich, Nuremberg, Braunschweig and other towns, involving hundreds of thousands of additional workers. At a meeting of the delegates of Berlin factories, the strikers adopted the following demands, which were spread about with lightning-like speed despite the very strict censorship operating throughout Germany:

1. The immediate conclusion of peace without annexations or indemnities, on the basis of the right of self-determination of nations.

2. Representatives of the workers of all countries to be drawn into the peace negotiations.

3. A check to be made of stores of food in factories and warehouses with a view to their more widespread and even distribution among all sections of the population.

4. Martial law to be withdrawn immediately. The military authorities not to interfere in the affairs of the trade unions.

5. The militarization of enterprises to be abolished.

6. All under arrest and condemned on political grounds to be released.

7. All governmental institutions to be completely democratized. Universal, equal, direct and secret ballot to be introduced for men and women in the elections to the Prussian Landtag.

These demands clearly reflected the rapidly growing will of the masses for

peace. The bitterness of the bleeding front mingled with the united will of the hungry workers employed in the munitions plants against the military dictatorship, for the defeat of the enemy in Germany itself. The great liberating force of the October socialist revolution in Russia exerted its influence over the sentiments of the masses at the front and in the munitions works. Lenin's decree on peace, and the appeal of the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets to the governments and peoples of all the belligerent countries met with a most lively response among the entire working class of Germany.

The working class of Germany, whose organizations, following on the shameful decision adopted by the Social-Democratic Reichstag group in August, 1914, fell into a state of complete collapse, began to revive and to appreciate the point that the Russian proletariat had achieved victory thanks to the fact that they were headed by a party which recognized socialism not in words, but in deeds. The January Berlin metal workers' strike, which was joined in a short space of time by the workers of the most important industrial centers, was a serious attempt to win peace and democracy. The strikers very highly appreciated their urgent international duty and undertook their attack at the very moment when the German imperialists were attempting to force a robber peace on the young Socialist Soviet Republic in order to compensate for their failure at the front by the seizure of the Ukraine.

"The solution of the question of peace depends upon the German proletariat," declared the Spartacists, the forerunners of the Communist Party of Germany, in

a proclamation published and distributed in Berlin on the eve of January 28. The mass strike was not to be a mere help-less "protest" or demonstrative strike, stated the proclamation. The winning of minimum demands, stated the "Spartacus," was the basis of the struggle "for a popular republic in Germany and immediate world peace." The "Spartacus" tried to inform as wide masses as possible of the political situation in Austria, and particularly of the lessons of the last mass strike there.

The metal workers' strike was not crowned with success. The strikers held out steadily for many days, in spite of the police terror. Martial law was declared and special military courts were established, but these were unable to hold the masses back as they gathered on the streets and public squares. Wide masses of the population openly sympathized with the aims of the strike, which continued with the same obduracy and determination even when the Commander of the Berlin military area declared that seven big munitions works had been placed under direct military control. The strikers did not yield to the terror either of the police or of the military. From the very outset they recognized the fact that a life and death struggle was being waged.

The reason for the cessation of the strike on February 3, despite the fact that not a single one of the demands put forward had been satisfied, was primarily that of the leadership of the strike itself. The German proletariat, as was stated in one of the proclamations issued by the strikers, "spoke to the government in Russian" from the very first days of the struggle, but at the same time were held in check by the Social-Democratic leadership, who did everything in their power to defend civil peace with the bourgeoisie and resorted to every possible means to ensure the continuation of the imperialist war. The striking metal workers placed no faith in the Social-Democratic leaders, whose political bankruptcy had intensified with every day that passed since August, 1914.

When the factory delegates at the beginning of the strike elected a strike committee, the majority of its members were against the Social-Democratic leaders participating in this committee. But as a result of the absence of a really revolutionary party linked up with the masses, the wavering elements of the then Independent Social-Democratic Party succeeded, after the strike committee had already been formed, in securing the inclusion of the Social-Democrats Ebert, Scheidemann and Braun in the committees. These three joined the strike committee with the intention of bringing the strike to a conclusion as soon as possible. Ebert himself admitted this several years later when he made the statement, in 1924, before the court in Magdeburg, that: "I joined the strike committee with the definite intention of bringing the strike to a conclusion as soon as possible."

To do away with all possible doubts and to confirm the point that the leadership was fully aware of their actions, Scheidemann added: "Had we not joined the strike committee, the court would not be in session here today." Scheidemann used these words in order to stress the point that the reaction owed them the greatest of thanks.

Ebert, Scheidemann and Braun, these three representatives of Social-Democracy, worked hand in glove with the government and military authorities. On January 31 already, they strove to secure the agreement of the members of the strike committee to the attempt made by two Social-Democratic members of the Reichstag and members of the General Council of Trade Unions to crush the strike, behind the backs of the elected strike committee. A day later, Reichstag deputies, members of the Socialist Party and of the Independent Socialist Party of Germany, took it on their own responsibility to come to an agreement with the Prime Minister regarding the cessation of the strike.

We must also attribute to this untiring disruptive work and to the absence of a really Bolshevik Party the fact that

the representatives of the revolutionary shop stewards who in the majority were under the influence of the Independent Socialist Party of Germany finally decided to stop the strike.

Despite this result, the January strike remains a big event in the history of the German labor movement, an event which helped to raise the fighting spirit of the proletariat, and from the experience of which the working class of Germany learned much in the past and still continues to learn. The most important lesson of the strike is that if there is working class unity, if the workers act together, they can, even if they are deprived of their rights and are bound hand and foot with the fetters of war and martial law, undertake militant action on a big scale and take the bourgeoisie unawares. The precondition for the outbreak of this powerful strike was the militant unity of the metal workers in the struggle against the then chief enemy, Kaiser Wilhelm's military dictatorship. This lesson remains a real one to this very day for the German proletariat.

A second, equally important lesson is that the working class will only be able to carry such struggles to a victorious conclusion if they emancipate themselves from the fetters of Social-Democratism. At the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, Social-Democratism was characterized as "the ideology and practice of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie." The entire development of the January strike in Germany gives glaring proof of how this dangerous and harmful practice affects the labor movement. Ebert who, to use his own words, "mortally hated the social revolution" and Scheidemann, who smugly boasted that in 1924 he had prepared the ground for reaction, by their policy in 1918 during the January strike prevented the working class from dealing a crushing blow at the imperialist war machine.

These individuals resisted the efforts of the masses who had learned from the bitter experience of the war period how

to employ their proletarian, class strength. These people shamefully betrayed the confidence of those Social-Democratic workers who, although they were not yet free of the influence of the Social-Democratic leadership, yet were full of determination to fight alongside their comrades for the common aim.

During the twenty years that have passed since then, the German workers have acquired great experience and have traversed a bitter path. A most painful wound was inflicted on them in 1933 by the establishment of the fascist dictatorship. To put an end to this path of much suffering (that was what Karl Liebknecht called it) and to force the enemy to their knees, the German working class must understand the causes of their defeat. In his concluding speech before the fascist court, Comrade Dimitroff said:

"Yes, he who does not wish to be the anvil, must be the hammer. The German working class as a whole did not understand this truth either in 1918, 1923, July 20, 1932, or in January, 1933. Now, of course, the German workers will be able to understand this!"

And it is as though it were for today that there was written the call addressed in 1918 by the Committee of Action of the Berlin Central Works' Council to the representatives of the Berlin metal workers, containing the words: "Stick together! One for all, all for one!"

All the more necessary is it in our time to reject the false and dangerous "conclusions" drawn from the January strike by Friedrich Stampfer in the *Neue Vorwaerts*. Even now Stampfer does not find a single word of criticism for the behavior of the Social-Democratic Party leadership in 1918. He defends their policy now as well. "It is far from being a secret that this gigantic strike was prepared not by the majority of the Social-Democratic Party, but against its will," wrote Stampfer in the *Neue Vorwaerts* of January 30, 1928. And he explains this behavior by saying that "it was never characteristic of leading German Social-Democrats to be drawn into

adventures where the outcome was indefinite."

Regarding the position of the reformist trade union leadership Stampfer says: "The trade unions were the last to want strikes at the munitions plants," for "the employers and the trade unions came to agreement in the most peaceful fashion regarding wages and working conditions and, when they could not agree, the authorities decided the question." Stampfer does not object to this state of affairs. Nevertheless, he comes to the conclusion that this historic strike deserves attention nowadays since the precondition of this strike was the pressure of the military dictatorship on the one hand, and the difficult food situation on the other, so that "only the slightest effort was needed to bring it into movement." In our days this is very encouraging, says Stampfer, and concludes his views on the strike in the following words: "Nothing is lost for those who know how to observe, possess patience and are able to act at the right moment."

If only things depended on that! The Communists "regard and estimate the process of the development of the revolution not as observers, but as active participants in this process." (Dimitroff.) On the basis of the experience of the January strike as of many other battles we have firmly mastered the point that the existence of a competent mass revolutionary party is the decisive condition for the successful conduct of the battles of the working class.

In 1918, the organizations of the revolutionary workers were in a very poor condition. The "Spartacus" was numerically still weak, poorly connected with the masses and, what is more, deprived of its most responsible leaders, who were behind prison bars. The organization of revolutionary shop stewards suffered from the absence of a concise ideological line, and was under the influence of the wavering "Independents." The workers' shop stewards and the "Spartacus" were sufficiently strong to set the strike going, but proved to be too weak to paralyze

Ebert's strike-breaking activity.

What conclusions follow from this for Germany of today? Primarily, that one must not become a patient observer if one wishes to transform the discontent of the masses with the fascist dictatorship, with the food shortage and low wages, into an active mass movement. Those who now write incessantly to convince their cadres, as the present leadership of Germany Social-Democracy is doing now, that nothing can be done, do not assist the development of big mass struggles against fascism in Germany, but hinder this process.

The masses in Germany are seeking for ways and means of defending their interests against the fascist terror, and of satisfying their demands. How far the numerous small attempts are transformed into resolute attacks depends on the extent to which they receive leadership and energetic support from the experienced and tested forces of the Socialist working class movement. The development of the anti-fascist opposition of the peasant masses, intellectuals, petty bourgeoisie and certain sections of the democratic bourgeoisie in Germany, depends more than ever on unity and activity of the working class and movement.

The present discontent of the masses with the compulsory measures of fascism and the ever-worsening living conditions—the result of the rule of fascism—creates the preconditions for action by the German working class against the fascist dictatorship. The flint with the aid of which a spark can now be struck from the stone is unity of action by the Communist and Social-Democratic Parties of Germany. Till now the C.C. of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany has been hindering the working class from securing this flint. But the Communists and Social-Democrats of Germany, faced with the common enemy—the warmongers, fascism—are in duty bound at all costs to bring about unity of action so as to mobilize the proletariat and the wide masses of the people in Germany for struggle against this mortal enemy.

On the Eve of the National Conference of the Communist Party of Spain

BY T. ALVAREZ

THE November Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain adopted a decision to call a national Party conference in the very near future. The Plenum pointed to the need for carrying through a preliminary and extensive explanatory campaign for the popularization of its decisions, and for the calling of provincial Party conferences to discuss from the angle of Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism questions of general political importance and problems of interest to the given province.

Beginning with November, 1937, following the Central Committee Plenum, there have taken place Party conferences in the Madrid, Cordoba, Huesca and other provinces, meetings of leading Party officials in a number of towns, a conference of Party school tutors, and a Plenum of the Central Committee of the United Socialist Party of Catalonia.

Problems of the People's Front, of the establishment of a single party of the proletariat, of the achievement of trade union unity, the problem of the organization of a real plebiscite to mobilize the masses still further for the struggle against fascism, and still further to raise the authority of the People's Front government, the creation of the conditions for the speediest possible and victorious conclusion of the war—such were the key questions discussed at the Party conferences. And complete unanimity, the desire to fulfil the tasks set as soon as possible were reached in these questions.

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the United Socialist Party of Catalonia, which took place on January 8 and 9, 1938, in Lerida, issued a bulletin in

which it noted with satisfaction the absolute understanding and friendly collaboration between the Central and Catalan governments, the presence of which in the one capital of Barcelona has still further strengthened these connections. At the same time the Plenum stressed the point that the Party, as the consistent defender of the statutes of Catalan autonomy, will exert every effort in the struggle against those who should endeavor to make use of the national feelings of the people for separatist purposes, to disrupt the unity between the Catalan and Spanish peoples:

"In order still further to strengthen the government of the Republic and the government of the Generalidad (the government of Catalonia), in carrying through the democratic mobilization of the whole people in support of both governments in the solution of the big tasks facing them connected with the war and the people's revolution, so as still further to stress the role of Catalonia as an important factor in the struggle against fascism, the Central Committee declares itself in favor of the carrying through of democratic elections to the municipal councils, the Catalan Parliament and also the Parliament of the Republic."

At the same time the United Socialist Party in Catalonia again addressed a proposal to all anti-fascist organizations regarding the establishment of a wide People's Front in Catalonia such as would embrace the Socialist Party, the U.G.T. (General Workers' Union), the C.N.T. (National Confederation of Labor), the Catalan Left, the League of Rabassaires (tenant farmers) and the "Accion Catalana" party, on the basis of the following program: the defense of

the interests of the working people; contacts between the rear and the front to be strengthened; assistance to be rendered to the Catalan and Central governments by the fulfilment of the instructions and decrees of the government by all the members of the above-mentioned organizations; help to be given in improving the work of the war industry; help to be given in setting the food supply machinery in order, and a struggle to be conducted against profiteering and the "Fifth Column."

Side by side with the establishment of a national People's Front committee of Catalonia, the Plenum of the United Socialist Party pointed to the need for the all-around establishment of People's Front committees, the tasks of which would depend on the local conditions.

A great amount of attention was devoted at the conference of the Madrid organization, which took place between the third and fifth of January, to problems of the People's Front and of the establishment of a single party.

The Madrid organization of the C.N.T., in fulfilment of the instructions of its central leadership, withdrew from the People's Front, giving as its motive that in the recently renewed national People's Front committee there were not included representatives of the Anarchist organizations. The Communist Party exerted every effort to secure the return of the C.N.T. to the People's Front Committee, but these efforts have not till now been crowned with success.

The Madrid conference endorsed the resolution of the November Plenum of the C.C. on this question, which pointed out that "the Communist Party now considers it particularly necessary to include the C.N.T. (the Anarchist trade unions) and the U.G.T. in the People's Front."

The leadership of the Madrid organization of the Socialist Party, being under the influence of several individuals belonging to Largo Caballero's splitting group, have to date refused to reestablish the local liaison committee with the Communist Party, despite the

tremendous urge of the masses for unity and for the establishment of a single party of the proletariat. (This urge for unity was clearly demonstrated while the delegation of the national liaison committee of the Communist Party and Socialist Party was in Madrid.) More than this, this leadership hinders the extension of liaison committees between groups of Communists and Socialists in the trade unions.

The Madrid conference of the Communist Party in its resolution on this question stated the following:

"The central question of the conference discussion was that of the relations with our Socialist comrades. In the trenches, in industry and in the villages there are dozens of liaison committees with our Socialist comrades; at the same time, however, despite our persistent efforts, the liaison committee with the Madrid Socialist organization is not working. . . .

"The situation demands that in every locality where there are Socialists and Communists a liaison committee should immediately begin to function, and that the activity of committees of liaison with Socialist organizations and between groups of Communists and Socialists in the trade unions should be renewed.

"Once again we call on the Committee of the Madrid Socialist organization to reestablish the liaison committee, and ask our Socialist comrades and Communists to help in this regard."

After the Madrid conference, in connection with the session of the trade union organizations of Madrid which discussed the question of the establishment of a local federation of all trade unions, the provincial committee of the Communist Party addressed an appeal to all working people and to the Socialist Party to put forward a single slate for the leadership of the trade union federation, and quoted the example of the long experience of collaboration between the Communists, Comrades Lombardia and Anguano and the Socialists in the Executive Committee elected after the removal of the Largo Caballero leadership in the U.G.T.

Despite certain successes achieved in the trade union work of the Communist Party—a point noted at the Madrid conference as well—trade union work continues to remain the weak spot of the Party's activities. The increase in the number of Communist members of trade unions from 10,160 (at the last conference) to 18,160 at the present time cannot satisfy an organization like that of Madrid, with 63,426 members.

The conference of the Huesca provincial organization of the Communist Party, in the resolution adopted, stressed the need for utilizing the tremendous urge of the masses for unity so as to strengthen the contacts between the local branches of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party, the U.G.T. and the C.N.T.

The second cardinal question discussed at the conferences, and of the entire activity of the Party after the November Plenum, is the mass work of the Party, and the attention to be paid to the daily needs of the working people of town and country.

The Communist Party has its representatives in almost all Municipal Councils. Within the competence of the Municipal Councils, which are administrative organs, there are questions of education, such as the establishment of schools, kindergartens, the provision of sanitary and hygienic services for the population, the building of shelters against aerial and gas attacks, the organization of food supplies, the struggle against profiteering, etc. The Municipal Councils have to put the decisions of the government into life: they are the organs most closely connected with the masses. Hence the Communist Councillors are faced with a whole series of important tasks to which both the Communist Party and the Party conferences have drawn attention.

The Communists in the Municipal Councils must be in the closest contact with the masses, and their work must be under the control of the provincial and district committees of the Communist Party. To this end the Municipal Coun-

gether meetings of their electors to whom they must report on the activity of the Communist group in the Municipal Council. As regards the Party committees, they must pay attention to the work of Communists in the Municipal Councils, and where necessary correct mistakes committed.

The meetings of Communist Municipal Councillors of the Albacete Province, which took place on January 19 and 20 raised the question in a resolution adopted, regarding the establishment of a Ministry of Supplies, and the formation of a commission for municipal affairs in the provincial committee of the Party.

The work of the Communist Party in the village was also discussed at the conferences. The question of the attitude of the peasants to the agrarian policy of the People's Front government was a central question at the conferences of the Huesca provincial organization, where the work of enemies of the people who attempted to sabotage the execution of the decisions of the Ministry of Agriculture was exposed. Only those district Party committees which were in closer contact with the masses were able to operate in the best possible way the decree of October 7, 1936 (regarding the confiscation of the land belonging to the rebels), and this is the main thing in bringing the life of the province back to normal.

Certain positive results in this regard have been achieved by the Madrid organization of the Communist Party. After lively discussions at the conference in which delegates from various villages participated, a resolution was adopted reading as follows:

"It is with satisfaction that we note that despite all sorts of obstacles that have arisen in connection with the operation of the instructions of the Ministry of Agriculture, thanks to the tremendous efforts of our Party, the number of agricultural cooperatives has increased in our province. The movement for collectivization is developing along the right lines indicated in the agrarian legislation of the People's Front government. In the

village there is a rapid growth of confidence in the measures of the government. There has been a 20 per cent increase in the sowing area this year.

"The entire Party must undertake the explanation and operation of the decrees issued by the Ministry of Agriculture. The best way to attract the peasants to support for the people's revolution is to help them to emerge from the medieval cul-de-sac into which they have been driven by the landowners and the Caciques."

The attention of the Party was directed toward work in the mass organizations: house committees, I.L.D., Friends of the Soviet Union, etc.

On the initiative of the Party there are now being established houses for refugees which are to become centers for cultural and educational work among the evacuated population and refugees from various provinces.

A third key position on the agenda of the conferences and of the entire activity of the Communist Party after the November Plenum of the Central Committee was such inner-Party problems as the question of training Party personnel, the enrollment of new members, the promotion of women to leading work, etc.

On December 11 and 12 a conference took place in Barcelona of leading Party workers of the Communist Party of Biscay. Forty-five comrades attended the conference. Having discussed problems of the activity of the government of the Basque country during Franco's offensive on the North, and having completely endorsed the decision of the Plenum of the C.C. of the Communist Party of Spain regarding the expulsion of Astigarrabia, former member of the Basque government and secretary of the C.P. of the Basque country, the conference outlined a number of measures whereby to strengthen the Party organization there. A national commission of five members was elected, and was given the responsibility of temporarily leading and preparing for a congress of the C.P. of the Basque country.

The Communist Party gave instruc-

tions regarding the organization of regional committees in the provinces. Till now, side by side with the provincial committees there have been district committees directly guiding the work of the primary organizations. Since there are a tremendous number of district committees (sometimes there are more than 200 in one province) the leadership and control over the work of the provincial committee have become complicated, for intermediary links such as regional committees have been wanting, and many members of provincial committees, being isolated from the center and working in the primary organizations, have not taken part in the work of the provincial committees.

The conference of the Huesca province showed that the connections between the provincial leadership and the outlying organizations are not sufficiently well arranged, some organizations not even being represented at the conference.

In many localities the Party organizations are not built on the cell principle, and are thus hindered from dealing with problems of production in the given factory or village. In those places where cells exist, the results of their work soon show themselves. Thus, for example, in a factory in Albacete the absence of heating was affecting the productivity of labor. The Party cell took up the question, secured the building of stoves, and the work improved. In another factory in Valencia the Party cell set about the organization of food supplies. It opened up a public dining room, established a cooperative store, etc., etc.

Wide prospects open up for the work of the Communist Party in the village. There are a tremendous number of co-operatives and agricultural collectives where Party cells should also be set up.

According to a decision of the Central Committee, all Party organs must publish one page a week devoted to questions of the organizational work of the Party.

One of the central tasks placed before the Party organizations by the November Plenum of the Central Committee is the drawing in of women into the active

life of the country and into political work. This problem was also a special point on the agenda of the Madrid organization (where 40 per cent of the delegates were women) and of the Cordoba organization.

During the civil war a tremendous number of Spanish women have joined in the active political life of the country, in many cases occupying leading positions in industry, agriculture, the trade unions, etc.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party raised the question of women enjoying equal rights with men, of the need more boldly to promote them to leading Party work. A positive example in this regard is provided by Valencia where, thanks to the support of the provincial committee, it has proved possible to train and promote women who enjoy tremendous popularity among the masses.

At the Madrid Party conference Comrade Dolores Ibarruri devoted a considerable part of her speech to the question of work among women. She raised the question of the need to organize all kinds of study courses to enable women to get a university education, to become doctors, engineers, technicians. Women must be drawn into the workers' universities.

Dolores also pointed to the need for a struggle against prejudices in regard to women, prejudices which are still strong even among Communists, and proposed that the forms of the organization of women in the Party be reviewed. Where it is impossible for joint Party cells to exist, exclusively women's cells should be organized. "Were the Madrid committee of the Party to pay greater attention to this question, there would be not 7,000 women members in the Madrid organization, as now, but considerably more."

Questions of the training and promotion of Party personnel, of the methods of collective leadership were extensively discussed at the conference of the Party school teachers. The defects in the work of these schools have been the following: first, the material taught has been isolated from the current political life of the Party, whereas the program should

be based on a close connection with the day-to-day problems facing the Party; second, the quality of the training has not been on a sufficiently high level. To correct this defect, close contacts must be established between the Central Committee of the Party and the provincial committees, and the Party schools, and a deep study must be made of the Party's forces by all the organs of the Party.

In the resolution adopted, the conference of Party school teachers pointed to the need for organizing frequent meetings of active Party workers and reports to explain current political questions (an example of this is the meeting organized by the Madrid provincial committee and attended by 6,000 comrades, for the discussion of the article of Comrade Jose Diaz on the lessons of Teruel) and for organizing short-term courses in all provinces, and rendering regular aid to tutors. The work with the Party's personnel must not be limited to collecting biographical material, but must be based on live and direct contact between specially established personnel commissions and the Party membership, and the cessation of the practice of leadership by circulars.

A meeting of the Political Bureau took place on January 15 and 16. It again discussed the question of the situation in the organizations of the Party and "noted an increase in the Party membership, as a result of which the Communist Party is the most powerful organization in Republican Spain."

The Political Bureau also directed the attention of all Party organizations "to the need for developing propagandist work on a big and systematic scale so as to train Party members and explain the Party line to them, to raise their political understanding and strengthen ideological unity in the Party's ranks."

The Communist Party of Spain, in preparing for its national conference, is anxious, as Comrade Dimitroff stated at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, "not to declaim about the future role of the Communists, but by its day-to-day mass work and correct policy, *to deserve, to win the confidence of the workers.*"

Employ All Means to Defend and Consolidate the People's Front*

BY DOLORES IBARRURI

"Be ardent defenders and propagandists of the correct policy of our Party."

ONE of the outstanding features of the present conference is the way women are participating in it. It is precisely our Party that has tirelessly paid attention, although not without defects, to the work of training and advancing women. And when we hear the splendid speeches made by our peasant women who have never before taken part in politics, and of young working women, we can make so bold as to state that revolutionary maturity has reached its maximum development in Spain.

When we speak of the participation of women in our work, we always remember the words of Lenin that "it is a marked feature of the experience of all liberation movements, that the success of the revolution depends on the extent to which women take part in it."

We are profoundly satisfied with the speeches of our women comrades; we are proud of the activity of our women, which serves as a splendid model for all the parties that still regard women as competitors.

And that this is no empty phrase is shown by the following truly comical fact, but at the same time one that reflects an entire world outlook. There is no need to tell you the name of the hero of this comical story; otherwise we might disgrace him. In one of the provinces of Spain a deputation of women

once came to N. and asked him for help in developing the movement for uniting all anti-fascist women. The aim of this was to facilitate the attraction of huge sections of women into revolutionary work. N. replied that he could offer no help whatsoever in this regard, and that it was altogether too bold a venture on the part of women to attempt to establish such organizations, that if they called themselves anti-fascist organizations today and really did some work in helping the country now in the throes of war, the position would be that on the morrow these same women's organizations would want to have their representatives in the Municipal Councils, Parliament—and he had no intention of tolerating such a competitor.

It goes without saying that we continued our work among women. Their speeches at the present conference testify to the splendid results of our work.

OUR MADRID PARTY ORGANIZATION IS STILL WEAK BY COMPARISON WITH THE POPULATION OF MADRID

Another point that is of great interest to us is the political development of the delegates from the locals. On this occasion when speaking they have not, as was formerly the case, merely sung hymns of praise to the achievements and successes of the Party; true, they have spoken of our successes, but at the same time they have pointed to a number of defects in the work of the Madrid Party organization, and particularly to the non-Communist self-satisfaction and bumptiousness of certain comrades who

* Speech at the Regional Conference of the Madrid organization of the Communist Party of Spain.

regard the development of our Party in too rosy a light and who imagine that once our policy is correct, and if everybody is satisfied with the development of our Party, then this is enough to make the masses rush to us of their own accord.

Despite the fact that our Party is the strongest political organization in Madrid, it is still very weak by comparison with the number of industrial workers and working people generally in Madrid. This point has been made by all the comrades who have spoken, with the promise that they would carry on a resolute struggle to enable our Party to become not only the most powerful political force in Madrid but also the decisive political force in the movement for unity; a political force cementing the unity of all the anti-fascist forces and mainly the unity between the two workers' parties, thereby creating the necessary conditions for the victory of our people over the enemy.

EVERY COMMUNIST SHOULD BE AN ENTHUSIASTIC AND ACTIVE PARTY WORKER

Some of our comrades have stated that in a number of organizations, partly under the influence of the accusations made against our Party that it is "hunting for souls," comrades have stopped troubling about the enrollment of new members. Every Communist should remember that we have every right to enroll new members into our ranks. . . .

Under no circumstances can we give up the enrollment of new supporters. Every Communist should be an enthusiast in enrolling new members. Every Communist should be an ardent supporter of the propaganda of our Party's views, and should do this, as we have always done, by showing an example in work and struggle, and by displaying self-sacrifice wherever we may be. Communists should not give way to panic. We have a correct line, and whatever may happen we must adhere to it. Therefore, enroll members, and with every day that passes work with growing enthusiasm. Therefore, be ardent de-

fenders and propagandists of the correct line of our Party and do not fear the label of "hunters of souls."

WE DO NOT OCCUPY OURSELVES WITH BOOSTING INDIVIDUAL PERSONALITIES

A political party which, despite its predominance among the workers and the people, is incapable of defending them and leaves them in the lurch at a difficult moment, does not deserve its influence and it would be better if it were deprived of this influence, since it has proved incapable of defending it.

Nobody can say this of us! We defend the achievements of our Party, because our Party's work is directed not toward boosting one or another individual, but toward carrying on the struggle, defending Spain, defending democracy, protecting the Spanish Republic and liberty. And if anybody wishes to carry on this work, and does not consider it necessary to work as the Communists do, he will bear responsibility for this before history. But you comrades will enroll new members, continue to engage in "hunting for souls" as you have done hitherto, and thus we shall achieve a situation where our Madrid Party organization becomes not only the most powerful political force, but also the force that will lead the workers along the path of revolutionary achievements, along the path of the consolidation of these achievements.

AN ENEMY IS ONLY ATTACKED WHEN HE IS STRONG; IF HE IS WEAK HE IS HELD IN CONTEMPT

We must tell our comrades that an enemy is only attacked when he is strong; if he is weak, he is held in contempt. And you must tell those people who fight against us and try to undermine our influence that they should compare the situation in Spain at the time when the rebellion broke out with the present situation; that they should think over, analyze and carefully weigh the point as to what was the driving force always capable of finding a way out of any situation; that they should think over the point as to who provided the

greatest number of heroes on all the fronts; that they should count the number of our Party members who have lost their lives and compare this with the number of members of other parties killed at the front; that they should remember who it was that loudly spoke of our defects, who it was that raised serious problems before them, who it was that succeeded in mobilizing the masses for the struggle, for the defense of the Republic and for the continuation of the struggle.

WE COMMUNISTS DO NOT LOSE OUR HEADS

We do not reply with sharp words to the attacks made on our Party, because, as our General Secretary has repeatedly pointed out, the Communists do not lose their heads; because Communists, in fighting for the liberation of the working class, also fight for the liberation of the petty bourgeoisie and middle classes, who always waver between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. We do not reply with sharp words, because we feel we have a responsibility before history, and know that if our Party should ever give way to one of the incessant acts of provocation, we would thereby bring close the defeat of our Spain.

We well remember what took place in Spain on July 18; we well remember the weaknesses of the government at the time when the fascist rebellion broke out; and we know that to lose our heads at such a moment means to subject the results of the whole of our struggle to danger.

We are proud of the fact that we have succeeded in maintaining a firm and steady position and have met all direct and indirect acts fully prepared; we are proud that we have succeeded not only in maintaining and increasing the strength of our Party, but also in achieving new and stronger positions for the victory of the Spanish people. And without going very deeply into past history, we are in a position to state that thanks to the pressure exerted and strength of our Party there has in the recent period been a marked improve-

ment in the maintenance of public order, in the employment of punitive measures against the enemies of the people, and that the strengthening of the People's Army is going on without interruption.

Such is our policy. We are carrying through a serious amount of work in educating and training workers, in coming closer to the forces that still hold themselves apart from us, in strengthening and consolidating the People's Front. And we act in this way because we know that the victory of our people depends on the maintenance of the People's Front, which some people are anxious to break; therefore we shall only be able to secure speedier victory and consolidate the revolutionary achievements of our people, if we maintain a firm position.

However, the concessions made by us by no means imply that we are ready to permit the revolutionary waters that have begun to bubble under the influence of the war to be directed along the old channels of 1931, where they run the risk of growing stagnant. No, we shall not agree to this. We are honestly and sincerely fighting for the democratic republic, for democracy to be no empty word, for the salvation of the democratic principles that have so often been trod under foot by those who picture themselves as their defenders.

WE MUST ACHIEVE THE MORE ACTIVE PARTICIPATION OF THE MASSES OF THE PEOPLE

Our guiding star is the historic example of the Soviet Union. It is clear that the situation here is a different one, that at the present moment we are not raising the task of bringing about the dictatorship of the proletariat, but we must imbue our people with the consciousness that they must make use of the rights they have gained. The workers must elect the people who are really prepared to defend their interests.

We are the staunchest defenders of democracy, not of the old democracy under the wings of which the friends and relatives of influential persons used

to gather together, but the democracy which provides the people with the possibility of expressing their will.

Spain must be governed in a new fashion, account being taken of the fact that there are no longer any landowners in the countryside, that there are no longer in the towns any big factory owners who fill their coffers out of the labor of the workers. Our Municipal Councils must carry this democracy into life.

WE OPERATE AN INDEPENDENT POLICY

We have members of ours in the government. In spite of this we operate the independent policy of our Party. We have always said that despite the fact that we are the most ardent defenders of the People's Front, we have never furled our revolutionary banner. And true to this idea of not furling our banner and the program of our Party, we ardently defend the democratic republic. But we consider it urgently necessary to consolidate the revolutionary gains of the people. We shall not permit the revolution to be turned back. We participate, and shall continue to participate in the government, thereby guaranteeing the development of the revolution, its consolidation in the struggle for our final aims.

THE CONDITIONS OF THE WORKERS MUST BE IMPROVED

While raising the question of the elections, we at the same time raise the demands of the workers. We cannot simply say to the workers: "Fight, work hard, make sacrifices, but don't demand wage increases and a reduction of the working day, since it is not a suitable moment for this now."

It is true that the war demands increasingly big sacrifices of us. It is no less true, however, that in the sufferings brought on by the war there are being forged the conditions for a wide and profound development of the democratic revolution, and that we should stimulate the development of these conditions. The workers have won gains, and our comrades must be the most ardent defenders

of these gains. A watch must be kept to ensure that legislation in Spain develops in the direction of progress. The chief gain is the forty-hour working week. We know that there are many workers who are still unemployed. Side by side with the need to increase the workers' wages, we raise the question of giving legislative effect to the forty-hour working week. This does not mean that we should tell the workers not to strive to work harder and better. We want the workers to be assured that when the war is over they will enjoy the forty-hour working week, according to law; but as long as the war goes on it is necessary that all workers should work as much as is necessary, and that the additional work should be paid for.

We know that as a result of profiteering, as a result of sharp practices on the part of those who get rich on the hunger of the people, and also in connection with the food shortage arising out of the war, the cost of living is going up with every day that passes. But we, the Party of the proletariat, must say that care should be taken to improve the conditions of the working class, that the circumstances compelling us to go to war by no means imply that the workers have only obligations to perform and possess no rights. The worker must give all that is needed; but at the same time his needs must also be satisfied. We must ensure that the worker feels a stimulus in his work, that he works with eagerness, that he knows that there will no longer be any exhausting working day or starvation wages in Spain.

Wherever a Communist works, whether in the factory or workshop, he should indicate the need for winning the forty-hour working week, for the worker working as much as is needed so that our men at the front, our soldiers in the trenches do not go short of anything, that all the needs of the war are satisfied. And thus, when exerting all his energy in his work, the worker will be aware that when the horrible war days come to an end, he will possess the basic gain of the forty-hour working week.

WE DEFEND THE DEMANDS OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE LAND TO THE PEASANTS AND THEIR RIGHT TO WORK AS THEY THEMSELVES DESIRE

Representatives of the peasants have spoken at this conference. Our Party must not for one moment forget what was said here by the peasant girl delegate of one of the Madrid provincial village organizations. She stated that the peasants are one of the driving forces of the revolution. Our Party has done a thing or two for the peasants, but this is not enough; our comrades, our Party cadres, must be trained so as to be able to educate the peasants, so as to be able to approach them.

As the representative from Algete very correctly stated, under no circumstances must one speak with the peasants in a language that cannot be understood, in the language of books, resolutions; in speaking with them we must use concrete language regarding the land area sown last year, and regarding the area that could be sown this year; we should speak to them of the significance of collectivization, of the importance of the trade unions.' There is no point in speaking to a peasant who cultivates a small plot of land about the need to industrialize agriculture; about the need for his acquiring a tractor to cultivate a plot of land on which a tractor cannot even turn round.

We should speak to the peasants about collectivization, about collectivization being a revolutionary achievement, about the importance of collectivization for the life of the peasants and for the cultural development of the village. In speaking to the peasants we should do what a peasant comrade told us this morning, namely, explain that under no circumstances do we propose to cut down or limit the resources on which the small peasants live. We should tell them that although the preconditions do not yet exist for the complete distribution of the land among the peasants, yet we demand the division of the land and defend their right to cultivate it just as they wish, for this is the only means of draw-

ing them into the revolutionary movement.

The peasants have a practical way of looking at things, and it is in this spirit that we should speak to them. The individual peasants should be told of the role of the trade unions; we should explain to them that the products which they wish to sell individually may become an object of profiteering on the part of those who get rich at the expense of the hunger of the town population, and that if the peasants in the trade unions succeed in organizing cooperatives, they will be able to use these to sell their products at a more remunerative price.' Both the individual and collective farmer must be imbued with the thought that he is fulfilling a great and most important piece of social work for the development of our country. We must win the peasants to our side by proving to them that we are solicitous of their interests, by proving to them that we are the most ardent defenders of the peasants' interests.

CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM IN THE PARTY

Many comrades in their speeches have spoken about criticism and self-criticism. It is very possible that many new Party members do not understand the significance of criticism and self-criticism. Therefore, as Comrade Anton has stated, we must explain to the comrades that they should not accept everything told to them as a dogma.

Dieges and other comrades, in summing up the results of their work, spoke of existing defects. I can assure you, comrades, that it is only in the Communist Party that there is real self-criticism.

While confident of the fact that our policy has been a correct one, that our initiative has helped to the maximum degree in achieving a development of the war and the revolution favorable to the republic, we do not by any means consider it a matter of shame to admit that errors have been committed, for we know that it is only by admitting the

errors we have committed that we shall be able to win the confidence of the people and prove to them that if we do sometimes make mistakes we are able to correct them in good time so as to turn once again to the right road, to the road of the defense of the interests of the working people.

We are in favor of criticism and self-criticism, but not as a confession made by a sinner before the confessor's window. We engage in self-criticism with the firm intention of correcting our errors, of overcoming blunders, of achieving a situation where our work is henceforth more fruitful, more successful for the cause which is dearer than all else to us and which we must all defend.

Our comrades must understand that one of the basic qualities of the Communists is the ability always to give a correct estimation of the moment we are passing through. And if anybody makes a mistake and then becomes convinced that his position was a wrong one, was not directed toward the defense of the workers' interests, we must find a way of linking up with and coming close to this comrade, and of helping him to take the path of unity, the path of discipline, the path of close contact with all the rest of the workers.

SECTARIANISM IS ONE OF THE WORST OF SICKNESSES

Sectarianism is one of the worst sicknesses in our Party. True, we should be proud of the correct policy of our Party; we should feel profoundly satisfied at the knowledge that we are Communists, that we belong to the Party that has been able to head and build socialism over one-sixth of the globe. We should be proud of the fact that we are members of a Party that plays such a tremendous role in the war and in the Spanish Revolution. But this feeling of pride must not blind us, this pride must not give rise to disregard for the rest of the workers. If we feel we possess greater qualifications, if we have a more correct line, then this is precisely the circumstance that should draw us closer to the

other workers, should give us greater flexibility, and sufficient patience toward their errors to enable us to work along with them, to link up with them and influence them by the correctness of our policy.

Our Party alone cannot make the revolution. Our Party alone is not sufficient to win the war. But we need our Party to become the axis, the motor that drives the development of the revolution; we need our Party to be the conscious and ardent defender of unity in the factories and industrial plants, to be as hitherto, the most ardent defender in the army of discipline, order and obedience to superiors when it is a question of the war.

Our comrades should be proud of the fact that they are better than the others; our Communist comrades in the factories should be able to say with pride: We have organized Stakhanovite units; we have given an example to the rest of the workers; we are stimulating the development of the revolution; we work so well that the other workers take an example from us, that by our activity, our love for the rest of the comrades, we attract the attention of all to us. We need to secure that no single Communist forgets this. And if our comrades do not forget this, I am certain that our Party will develop and grow despite all obstacles.

WHERE IT IS DIFFICULT TO ORGANIZE COMBINED PARTY CELLS, SPECIAL WOMEN'S CELLS SHOULD BE ORGANIZED

At the beginning of my speech I stated that one of the characteristic and basic features of our conference is the fact that women have made speeches. Comrade Angelita made a good speech. We are proud that our girls are able to make such speeches. But at the same time there were several defects in the report which must be corrected, so that it may serve as an example for our comrades.

Work among women has been a weak side of our Party work. There have always been ebbs and flows in the way the women have come to our Party. There were times when tremendous numbers of women came into our Party, attracted

by our policy; at other times, however, we have noted a considerable drop in the number of women in our Party. We have sought for the reasons for this situation and have become convinced that many women do not attend meetings of the Party cells. We have even met cases where our comrades have adopted a negative attitude toward their wives joining the Party and attending cell meetings. Now, when our Party is strong, when our Party can keep a check on and follow the development of the various cells and committees, we raise the question of the organization of women's Party cells in those places where there are difficulties in organizing combined cells.

This may be particularly advisable in relation to street cells. Many women would like to join our Party, but declare that they cannot do so because the cell meetings take place at 10 o'clock at night or at such times when they cannot attend. Therefore, if we make it possible for these women to organize special cells, then by the next conference we shall have not 7,000 women in our Party, but three times more, for the women are very sympathetic to our Party, but do not join it because they cannot attend meetings.

WOMEN MUST BE PROMOTED TO RESPONSIBLE LEADING POSITIONS

Here we wish to say a few words about what we are trying to achieve for women. It is very possible that some comrades imagine, as they have been accustomed to think, that if we advance some slogan, then as long as it does not penetrate deeply into the minds of the masses, as long as the masses are not convinced of its correctness, it will remain an empty sound, that when we raise some question it is the fruit of our fantasy. If we now see that after the passage of several months women have become splendid fighters, splendid engineering workers, magnificent nurses in no way yielding place to skilled nurses; that plain housewives have become splendid workers, then we must

raise the question of working women being given the opportunity of securing a higher education; here we must raise the question before Comrade Jesus Hernandez of the need for organizing classes for nurses so that they may be able in a short time to become doctor's assistants, for we are in need of medical personnel. We will be energetic and enthusiastic in proving that if they have been able to learn how to handle complicated war machines in a period of three months, they can also become technicians and engineers.

We must devote every effort to secure an increase in the number of colleges, to ensure that there is a workers' college organized in every big town, that women who have entered industry and work with love and enthusiasm may be able to become engineers and factory directors capable of managing industrial plants and factories.

That this is possible is proved by the splendid example of working women whom we all know, by the example of many thousands of women employed in various factories. Many examples have been quoted here, and I in my turn wish to quote the example of a working woman employed in a certain munition works, a woman who had previously never worked in a factory and who got work in the plant for the first time like many others. At the munition works where she is employed there was a saboteur who refused to repair machines when they went out of action; this was why the plant, which had a capacity of several hundred thousands of bullets, hardly managed to produce 80,000 a day. Well, this working woman, this daughter of the people, decided herself to set about repairing the machines, and succeeded in doing so. After this she began to repair all the machinery, and the output of bullets, which was only in the region of 80,000, rose to 250,000 a day.

WE MUST OVERCOME THE FATAL PREJUDICE THAT EXISTS IN OUR COUNTRY

When we meet with such splendid facts of women entering industry, we

may be fully assured that if we are able to support this urge of women to enter industry, if we are able to protect the women who wish to work, we shall achieve tremendous results. And, comrades, we must not fear competition from the women; you must be the most ardent enthusiasts for the drawing of women into industry, you must be the most ardent defenders of women's rights in the trade unions, in the workshops, in the factories, in all enterprises. We must overcome the age-old prejudice that women are a lower creature as compared with men. Those who by their reactionary prejudices oppose the entry of peasant women into the trade unions must be told that the peasant woman who is being aroused to the political life of the country deserves all our support, that women must be helped to become emancipated both economically and politically.

There has always been talk of the reactionary role of women, but those who say this have not asked themselves what they have done to emancipate women. I have known many comrades who have considered themselves to be great revolutionists, but when I have asked them: "Why don't you bring your wife into the Party, why don't you take care to see that your wife attends meetings?" they have answered me: "My wife understands nothing; she knows nothing; she has to look after the children."

Comrades, anybody possessing such a reactionary view regarding the role of women cannot call himself a Communist or a revolutionist. Women must not be regarded as one on whom the lock is turned, as a person who has to look after her husband and children; a woman should be the companion, the comrade of her husband, and share with him sorrow and joy, defeats and victories in the struggle. We must therefore fight to secure that women are really drawn into industry; we must ensure that women work in industry, that women become independent materially as well, for women will only become free when they are able to earn their own livelihood.

It is natural that the drawing of women into industry brings in its train a number of other problems that do not scare us, because we are able to solve them. These include the problem of kindergartens where the women can leave their children while at work; the problem of public dining rooms where both men and women can have their dinners, so as thus to prevent women being tied to the kitchen. And, Communist comrades, it is precisely you who must be the most ardent and the most resolute defenders of the material independence of women, of women being drawn into industry as one of the basic means of emancipating them economically and politically.

THE LESSONS OF THE CONFERENCE MUST ENABLE US TO IMPROVE OUR WORK

The work of our conference has shown that the Communists of Madrid are able to fulfil the tasks facing them; that they splendidly understand the need for linking up with the masses; that they must pay particular attention to the peasant question; that the Madrid Communists understand the need for intensifying their work to strengthen unity and the People's Front as factors of victory.

Comrades of Madrid, the lessons of the present conference must serve to improve and still more profoundly develop our work, to double our Party membership by the next conference. And you may be quite sure, comrades of Madrid, that if you succeed in penetrating into the minds of the people, in setting about the solution of all their problems, in fearlessly advancing the slogans of our Party for discussion in the factories, industrial plants, in the village, the army and the working class quarters; if you succeed always in defending the interests of the masses, they will see in the Communist Party their most reliable leader. And if you succeed in doing this, if you become imbued with the splendid spirit reigning at your conference, then, comrades of Madrid, you will be fulfilling your duty; you will fulfil the role that has fallen to the lot of our Party at this historic moment.

Forward, comrades of Madrid! Employ every means to defend the unity of the proletariat! Employ every means to defend and strengthen the People's Front! By your tireless work, by your self-sacrifice by your supreme devotion you will achieve a situation where the workers not only of Madrid, but throughout Spain—for Madrid is the heart of

the Republic and the eyes of all workers are turned toward Madrid—will advance along the road to victory. Thereby you will be doing a tremendous service to the revolution in our country!

Forward, comrades of Madrid! Long live the unity of the proletariat! Long live the People's Front!

The Communist Party of China and the Anti-Japanese War

INTERVIEW BETWEEN MAO TSE-TUNG AND THE ENGLISH CORRESPONDENT BERTRAM (October 25, 1937)

BY MAO TSE-TUNG

BERTRAM: In what concretely did the Communist Party display its existence prior to and after the beginning of the Japanese war in China?

MAO TSE-TUNG: The Communist Party of China repeatedly warned the country of the inevitability of war with Japan. The talk of Japan about "a peaceful regulation" of the question was only fine phrases of Japanese diplomats designed to cover up Japan's preparations for war. We repeatedly pointed to the need for strengthening the united front and for employing revolutionary measures, as the only conditions for guaranteeing our victory in the war of national liberation. We insisted on the Chinese government giving democratic rights to the people for the mobilization of the masses throughout the country for the struggle against Japan. We repeatedly pointed to the mistakes of those who thought that Japanese aggression could be beaten off without mobilizing the population. The correctness of all our views on this question has been confirmed by the fact of aggression and by the whole course of the war.

On the day after the events in Lukou-chiao, the Communist Party published a manifesto in which it called on all parties, groupings and social layers of the population to organize unanimous resistance to the aggression of Japan and to strengthen the united national front. A little later we published a "Program of Struggle Against Japanese Imperialism, for the Salvation of China," a program of action for the National government in the war against Japan.

In the period of the establishment of collaboration between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang, we published yet another important declaration. All this goes to show that our line is built on the unswerving and consistent consolidation of the united front, and on the operation of a revolutionary war policy. Throughout the whole of this period, all our slogans have amounted to the one thing: "all-embracing national war."

THE ANTI-JAPANESE WAR AND THE LESSONS FOLLOWING FROM IT

BERTRAM: What, in your opinion, are the results of the war to date?

MAO TSE-TUNG: The chief of these are the following: Japanese imperialism, having raised a threat to the very existence of the Chinese state, made a direct onslaught on the Chinese people, attacking towns, occupying territory, violating, robbing and beating up the population, and setting fire to the harvest. The majority of the Chinese people have drawn from this war a profound appreciation of the need to rally together all their forces for the conduct of armed resistance on a national scale. At the same time there has begun the awakening in all countries of the forces fighting for peace who have begun to understand the need for resisting the Japanese menace.

BERTRAM: What in your opinion are the aims of Japan, and how far have these aims been fulfilled?

MAO TSE-TUNG: These aims were clearly expressed in the Japanese plan, the first step in the carrying out of

which was the seizure of Northern China, and then the occupation of other districts. As regards the extent to which the Japanese usurpers have carried out their plans, it should be said that since China has till now limited itself to a war in which only the troops of the government have taken part, Japan succeeded in a short period in seizing hold of the three provinces of Hopeh, Chahar and Suiyan, and in threatening Shansi. If the government is able to organize the entire mass of the people for participation in the war against Japanese aggression, we shall emerge from the critical situation that has arisen.

BERTRAM: Has China any achievements to show in the anti-Japanese war? What lessons have you drawn from this war?

MAO TSE-TUNG: I willingly answer this question. There are successes and very big ones at that. They are expressed in the following:

First, the present war is revolutionary in *its character*; it has embraced the entire country and in scope exceeds all the acts of imperialist aggression that have till now taken place in China.

Second, the war has led to the rallying of all the forces of the country, the basis of this being the collaboration between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang.

Third, the war has aroused the sympathies of international public opinion toward China. Whereas in the past a contemptuous attitude was adopted toward China as a country not offering any resistance, now China is respected as a country resisting the aggressor.

Fourth, the war has involved the Japanese aggressors in very great expenditures. According to information to hand, Japan's daily expenditures amount to 20,000,000 yen, while as regards human losses, in spite of the absence of exact statistical data, it can be said with confidence that these losses are very great. It should be added that whereas in the past the Japanese aggressors were able to seize hold of the four eastern provinces almost without any expenditures

of effort, now they are unable to seize hold of a single inch of Chinese territory without a bloody struggle. Whereas at the outset Japan aimed at satisfying its limitless desires in China, now, as a result of the long-drawn-out resistance offered by China, Japanese imperialism is on the road to its own collapse. If we regard the anti-Japanese war in China from this angle, it must be defined not as a war defending only the interests of China itself, but as the fulfilment by China of a great duty on the world fighting front against fascism. And herein is also shown the revolutionary character of the anti-Japanese war of the Chinese people.

Fifth, the lessons we have drawn from this war have cost us very dear. We have learned them at the cost of blood and the loss of territory.

Several months of war have revealed many weak spots in China, and above all in the relations among the political forces of the country. Although the war has on this occasion covered the entire territory of the country and is of a national character, the picture as regards the participants in the war is quite a different one. Wide masses of the people continue to be unable to take part in the war as a result of obstacles created by the government itself. This is why the present war still does not cover wide masses of the people. But a war against the aggression of Japanese imperialism without the participation of the wide masses of the people can on no account end in victory.

There are those who say that the war at the present stage has already assumed a nationwide character; this definition, however, is only true in the territorial sense, but not in the sense of embracing the entire population, since resistance is only being offered by the troops and the government, without the masses of the people participating in the war. Herein lies the main reason why in the course of the few months that have passed we have lost a large amount of territory and have met with serious military setbacks.

This war will only be revolutionary in the full sense of the word when the masses take part in it. This question is also linked up with that of rallying together the forces of the nation. Although the different parties and groupings are linked together to a greater extent than formerly, this solidarity is still insufficient. The overwhelming majority of political prisoners still languish in jail, while a number of political parties and groupings still continue to live a semi-legal existence. As regards the contacts between the government and the people, the army and the population, officers and soldiers, they still remain as heretofore not properly regulated. Instead of solidarity we see an absence of contacts. And this is a basic question. Unless we solve it there can be no thought of victory in the war.

One of the most important reasons for the loss of territory and military forces is military mistakes. When we glance back at the battles that have taken place, we can say that in the majority of cases they were passive. "purely defensive battles," as the military say. Such tactics don't lead to victory. To achieve victory in war a concise policy must be operated in questions both of military tactics and of the political struggle. These are the main lessons that arise from the experience of the war.

BERTRAM: What measures do you propose to change the existing political and military order?

MAO TSE-TUNG: First, the present government must be reorganized as a People's Front government with representatives of the people participating. This government must be a democratic and centralized government and must carry through a revolutionary policy.

Second, the people must be given freedom of the press, speech, assembly, organization, and be drawn into the armed struggle against the enemy, so that the war may assume a nationwide character.

Third, the conditions of the people must be improved by doing away with unbearable exactions and taxes, by reducing rents and interest payments on

loans, by improving the treatment of workers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers, by giving privileges to the families of soldiers fighting on the anti-Japanese front, by rendering aid to people suffering from natural calamities, and to refugees, etc., etc. The governmental budget must be covered out of sums received from taxation of the well-to-do according to a sliding scale.

Fourth, our foreign policy must be activated.

Fifth, there must be a reorganization of cultural and educational work.

Sixth, traitors to the fatherland must be ruthlessly crushed. This question is an exceptionally acute one since traitors to the fatherland are going about doing their foul work unpunished, helping the enemy at the front, creating disorder in the rear, engaging in disruptive work frequently in the guise of anti-Japanese fighters, and accusing patriots of treachery to the fatherland and arresting them. Only collaboration between the people and the government will be able to put an end to the work of traitors to the fatherland.

In the sphere of military affairs, the tactics of "pure defense" must yield place to an active offensive against the enemy. The army must be reorganized. Instead of compulsory mobilization the population should be recruited by the employment of agitational methods. A single command must be established. Conscious discipline toward the population must be introduced among the troops; not the slightest license toward the people must be permitted. The situation must be abolished where military operations are carried through exclusively by regular troops, and a situation achieved where military operations by regular troops are combined with guerilla warfare developed on a wide scale.

All the above-mentioned political and military conditions were put forward and published by us in the "Program of Struggle Against Japanese Imperialism, for the Salvation of China." All these measures have been drawn up by us in the spirit of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's three

principles and his will. The war will only end in victory if these measures are put into operation.

BERTRAM: How does the Communist Party aim to achieve this program?

MAO TSE-TUNG: Our task is to wage an untiring, energetic and patient campaign explaining the situation that has arisen, and to fight alongside the Kuomintang and other patriotic parties and groupings, to extend and consolidate the united anti-Japanese national front, for the mobilization of all forces to achieve victory in the anti-Japanese war. Since the national anti-Japanese struggle still does not embrace all the masses, it must be extended, and this means to put into life the behests of Dr. Sun Yat-sen regarding the "rousing of the masses," i.e., to mobilize all sections of the population for participation in the People's Front. To consolidate the People's Front means to operate one program common to all, to coordinate the actions of the various parties and groupings, to adopt as a basis such a united front program common to all the parties, groupings and sections of society as would answer the three revolutionary principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, his three political conditions and will. However, this program has not yet been adopted by all the parties. Above all, the Kuomintang has not yet given its agreement to the publication of such a complete program.

By organizing resistance to Japanese aggression, the Kuomintang is thereby already operating the *national* principle of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, but the principle of *democratism and the improvement of the well-being of the people* is not yet fulfilled. This it is that has given rise to a serious crisis in the present war. If this principle is forgotten in the existing conditions it may lead to serious consequences, when it will already be too late to regret the opportunity missed. It is the duty of the Communist Party tirelessly to explain and convince the Kuomintang and the entire people of the need at all costs to operate Dr. Sun Yat-sen's three really revolutionary principles, his triple political conditions and

his will throughout the country, and thereby to extend and strengthen the united national anti-Japanese front.

THE EIGHTH NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY ARMY IN THE ANTI-JAPANESE STRUGGLE

BERTRAM: What is your opinion about the position of the Eighth Army? Many people are interested to know what are its strategy and tactics, what constitutes its political work, etc.

MAO TSE-TUNG: The reorganization of the Red Army into the Eighth People's Revolutionary Army, its departure for the front line, have given rise to great interest and solicitude for it among the population.

First of all, as regards the military operations of the Eighth Army. The Eighth Army concentrates its activities in the Shansi Province. As you are aware, the Eighth Army is famed for repeated victories. Near Pingtichuan, it won back Tsinpin, Ningyu, Pinglu, Kwanling, Laiyuan and captured Tsingkwang. It cut the railroads between Tating and Yenming, between the counties of Weh and Pingsing and Sho and Ningyu, all of them important for the Japanese army. It attacked the Japanese rear to the south of Enminkwang, on two occasions won back Pingtichuan and Enminkwang. During recent days it has again won back Geroyang and Tiansiang in the Province of Hopeh, etc.

At the present moment the Japanese troops that have entered Shanghai are encircled on all sides by the Eighth Army and other Chinese troops. We can say with certainty that the Japanese troops will continue to come up against serious resistance in Northern China, and that they will not be able as hitherto to lord it and wreak vengeance in Shansi.

Further, regarding the strategy and tactics of our military operations. Our tactics differ from those of the other armies. The basic point of the tactics of the Eighth Army is rear and flank fighting against the enemy. This method of conducting the war differs fundamentally from purely frontal, defensive

battles. We are not opposed to the use of military forces in direct frontal battles. This is necessary. The main forces, however, must be used on the flanks; flanking tactical movements should be employed all the time. By separate, independent attacks on the enemy, we can maintain our forces and destroy those of the enemy. In addition, by making use of a part of our forces to operate in the rear of the enemy, we can keep them in a state of constant alarm, by destroying their communication lines and bases.

The troops engaged in frontal warfare must not be limited to "purely defensive" tactics, but must undertake counter-blows. The explanation of the military setbacks of our troops is mainly that they have employed unsuitable tactics. The tactics of the Eighth Army may be defined in the following words: "Independent, maneuvering and guerilla warfare." These tactics in the main correspond to those employed by the Red Army during the civil war.

The present war, however, is distinguished from the past wars in that the offensive on the enemy from the rear and on the flanks covers a tremendous territory, and hence there are fewer cases of the concentrated use of troops as compared with the number of separate actions. Since our army is numerically a big one, its main forces, with the exception of those in the front line and guerilla units, must be concentrated on the flanks. The first precept of the military art is that one must maintain one's force and destroy those of the enemy. To achieve this aim we must wage "independent, maneuvering and guerilla warfare" and avoid waging passive warfare according to stereotyped tactics. If the main mass of the troops wage a war of maneuvers, while the Eighth Army helps them by guerilla warfare, we shall be victorious.

Regarding political work. A characteristic feature of the Eighth Army is the political work conducted by it. The political work in the Eighth Army is based on the following three principles:

First, the unity between the commanders and the rank-and-file: the abolition of the feudal view of the army; the rooting out of the system of beatings and hectoring language; the establishment of conscious discipline; the commanders and men share the joys and difficulties of the campaigns. All of this makes of the army a monolithic whole.

Second, the unity between the army and the population: this means that discipline in the army permits of no liberties whatsoever being taken with the population. The army conducts propaganda among the masses of the people, organizes and arms them; helps them to overcome economic difficulties, to fight against traitors inflicting harm on the army and the population. Such a policy binds the army to the people, creates a love for it among the people.

Third, agitation in the enemy army and good treatment of prisoners.

The success of this work depends not only on military operations, but also on the degree to which the enemy forces are disintegrated. The Eighth Army is made up not only of conscripts, but also of volunteers, thus mobilizing the entire population. The method of agitation has its advantages over the method of compulsion. The results of this method show themselves very rapidly.

We have lost the provinces of Hopeh, Suiyuan, Chahar and part of Shansi, but this has not weakened our energy. We call on our army to join forces with all friendly units so as to bring the war to a conclusion, to defend Shansi and return the territory lost.

The Eighth Army will exert every effort to link up its operations with those of the other Chinese groups, to continue to offer resolute resistance to the forces of the Japanese army in the Shansi Province—a very important point for further progress of the entire war, and particularly for the war in Northern China.

BERTRAM: Can the remaining Chinese units be built on the same principle as the Eighth Army?

MAO TSE-TUNG: Quite. The Kuomin-

tang Army of the 1925-1927 period was built on the same principle as the Eighth Army. At that time the Communist Party helped the Kuomintang to organize a new type of army; we began with two regiments, and in a short period of time succeeded in growing considerably. After winning our first victory over General Chin Tsu-min we grew into an entire army, and then when the influence of our army increased still further, we undertook the Northern campaign. At that time our army was penetrated by a stream of fresh air that linked up the army with the people, and the soldiers with the officers. The troops, filled with the spirit of revolution, advanced courageously. A system of political departments and commissars was established that had never before existed in the Chinese Army. Thanks to this system, the army assumed a new appearance.

The Red Army established at the end of 1927 and now reorganized as the Eighth National Revolutionary Army only inherited this system and developed it further. Insofar as the army established in the period of the great Chinese Revolution of 1925-1927 was built on a new political basis, it had to work out new tactics to correspond to this system. Instead of passive, stereotyped non-manuevering warfare, war was waged in a new fashion and virile, offensive tactics full of initiative and flexibility were employed. This it was that secured the victory in the Northern campaign. It is just such an army that is wanted in the present conditions for the conduct of the war against Japan.

This army does not at all need to be one of many millions; it will be sufficient to make correct use of several hundred thousand men to achieve victory over Japanese imperialism. We must mark with respect the heroism of all the Chinese troops; definite lessons, however, must be drawn from the bloody battles that have taken place. We hope that the main forces of the army, possessing rich experience, a glorious history and a heroic past, will set about the leadership and reorganization of all the armed

forces of the country. The reorganization of the army of the government in Spain can serve as a model of such reorganization.

BERTRAM: I don't think that the good treatment of prisoners under the existing discipline in the Japanese Army has given the required effect. Those who return from captivity to Japan are executed, and what is more, the Japanese troops as a whole do not understand your policy.

MAO TSE-TUNG: That is not correct, since the more soldiers Japan kills (and this cannot be hidden from the Japanese troops) the stronger will become the sympathies of the Japanese soldiers toward the Chinese Army. We are steadfastly pursuing this policy. For example, the Japanese authorities have now officially declared that they will use poison gas against the Eighth Army. Suppose they do. This will not make us alter our policy of giving good treatment to prisoners of war; we shall regard Japanese soldiers and all the Japanese personnel compelled to wage war against us as our brothers and offer them our sincere sympathy. We shall disarm them, but shall not permit any mockery to be made of them, we shall neither punish nor hector them; we shall explain to them what constitutes the essence of the unity of interests of the peoples of the two countries, and allow those who desire to return home; those who wish will be able to remain on service in the Eighth Army, and in the future if International Brigades are organized in the process of the anti-Japanese war, they will also be able to join them so as to carry on an armed struggle against Japanese imperialism.

BERTRAM: Are you ready to meet gas attacks?

MAO TSE-TUNG: For a number of technical reasons we are still not supplied with means of defense against them; but we have demanded help in this regard from Chiang Kai-shek, President of the Military Council. Chu-Teh, Commander-in-Chief of our army, issued a manifesto in reply to the Japanese staff in

Northern China, in which he pointed out that the employment of inhuman methods in the struggle would facilitate the ruin of Japanese fascism itself.

CAPITULATION IN THE ANTI-JAPANESE WAR

BERTRAM: As far as I am aware, Japan, while waging war, is spreading rumors in Shanghai about the conclusion of peace. What, in the last analysis, are Japan's aims?

MAO TSE-TUNG: Japanese imperialism, having achieved a definite aim, is once again covering its real plans behind a smokescreen of negotiations about peace. Japan's aims consist of the following: (1) to consolidate the positions seized as a base for a further offensive; (2) to split the Chinese anti-Japanese front; (3) to disrupt the aid being rendered to the Chinese people from countries all over the world. The danger lies in the fact that there are still some vacillating elements in China who may fall into the trap set by the enemy. Traitors to the fatherland penetrate into their midst, spread all kinds of rumors and gossip, imagining that they will in this way compel China to capitulate to the Japanese usurpers.

BERTRAM: What in your opinion are the perspectives of these dangerous designs?

MAO TSE-TUNG: There can be two perspectives: either that the spirit of capitulation will be smashed, or on the contrary that it will take the ascendancy, and then discord will spread in China, thus leading to a split in the anti-Japanese front.

BERTRAM: Which of these two perspectives is the more likely one?

MAO TSE-TUNG: The entire Chinese people demand that the struggle against the aggressor be carried through to the end. And if there are people in the upper ranks of society who have taken the path of capitulation, the remaining sections are at one with the people; they stand firm for the continuation of the war against the aggressor. All vacillations

are of course harmful to the Chinese anti-Japanese front, but I am confident that the capitulators will not succeed in gaining control over the masses, and that in the end they will be compelled to give way to the strength of the masses; the war will be steadfastly continued until it leads to victory. On October 9 Chiang Kai-shek declared that he would continue the war until the last man. The Communist Party of China gives its resolute support to this policy of Chiang Kai-shek, and carries on a struggle against those who lead toward capitulation. The slogan of the Chinese Communist Party: "Defend our fatherland to the last drop of blood!" and Chiang Kai-shek's declaration are identical.

BERTRAM: Please tell me how the spirit of capitulation is to be overcome.

MAO TSE-TUNG: Expose the danger of capitulation and organize the masses of the people for a struggle against it. The roots of capitulation are in national defeatism. The pessimist-defeatists consider that since China met with a few defeats in the beginning of the war, this means that it is not in a position to offer resistance to Japan. They fail to understand that precisely defeat is the mother of success; from our defeats we have drawn a good lesson, *i.e.*, the basis of future victory. The pessimists regard the anti-Japanese war through the prism of defeats, and do not see achievements. All the more do they fail to see that the defeats inflicted on us already include the elements of our victory and the defeat of the enemy. The masses of the people must be shown the prospects of victory and be made to understand that the defeats and difficulties are of a temporary character, and that if we engage in a shock struggle final victory is assured. The capitulators possess no mass basis and so will not be able to fulfil their capitulatory designs, while the anti-Japanese front will grow still stronger.

THE DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM AND THE ANTI-JAPANESE STRUGGLE

BERTRAM: What is the meaning of

democracy referred to in the program of the Communist Party? Is it possible to operate "democracy" in wartime? Are there not contradictions here with the formula of "a wartime government"?

MAO TSE-TUNG: By no means. As far back as September, 1936, the Communist Party advanced the slogan of the establishment of a "united democratic republic." This slogan amounts in the main to the following three demands:

1. Instead of a state and a government representing the interests of one class, to establish a state and a government uniting the entire population, and including without fail the workers, peasants, and petty bourgeoisie, everybody with the exception of traitors and betrayers of the fatherland.

2. The government must be built on the basis of democratic centralism. That is to say, it must be democratic and at the same time centralized, combining in a definite form the two apparently contradictory concepts of democracy and centralism.

3. The government provides the people with all the necessary political liberties, and particularly freedom of education and of armed self-defense. If you approach the question from this angle, you will become convinced that the demand of democracy by no means contradicts a "wartime government." Actually our state system and system of government must create all the conditions for the success of the war against Japanese aggression.

BERTRAM: But is there not a contradiction in the very concept of "democratic centralism"?

MAO TSE-TUNG: Democracy and centralism are not separated by an impassable abyss. In China, both the one and the other are necessary. On the one hand, the government demanded by us must express the will of the Chinese people and receive the support and help of the wide masses of the people. While supporting the government the people must have the possibility of influencing its policy. It is in this that the signifi-

cance of democracy lies. On the other hand, the centralization of the administrative power is essential. The representatives of the people, basing themselves on the demands of the latter, draw up a political line the operation of which is made the responsibility of the government elected by themselves. If the government does not violate the promises made to the people, then the operation of this policy will meet with no obstacles. This is the meaning of centralization.

The strength and power of the government will increase with the introduction of the system of democratic centralism. A government organized during the period of the anti-Japanese war is in duty bound to employ the system, beneficial to the cause of the people, of democratic centralism. This is the most up-to-date form of organization that mankind has found in the process of its historical development. The system of democratic centralism justifies itself in both peacetime and wartime. It has a still greater political effect during war.

BERTRAM: Is this not similar to the system of wartime cabinets?

MAO TSE-TUNG: It is not like some wartime cabinets that have existed in history.

BERTRAM: Has there been anything similar with you?

MAO TSE-TUNG: Yes, there has. Wartime political systems can in the main be divided into two types: the system of democratic or of absolute centralism, both of which are determined by the character of the war. All wars that have ever taken place can be divided into two categories: revolutionary and counter-revolutionary wars. Thus, for instance, the European war that took place over twenty years ago was imperialistic in character: each imperialist government compelled the people to war in the interests of imperialism and against those of the people.

The Lloyd George government in England should be considered as characteristic of this period. Lloyd George, op-

pressor of the British people, forbade all action against the imperialist war and the existence of organizations that even distantly reflected the will of the people; meetings and gatherings were banned. The Parliament that continued its existence was only a collection of imperialists who voted for the war budgets on orders from the government. Insofar as the aim of the governments waging the war were contrary to the interests of the people, these governments were built on the principle of absolute centralism and did not permit of democracy at all.

History, however, knows of other wars, as, for instance, the revolutionary wars of France, Russia and present-day Spain. And since in these wars the interests of the government completely coincide with the interests of the people, the government may be assured of the support of the people for this war. But since the people are extremely interested in the success of such a war, and the government is based on the voluntary support of the people, it, the government, not only does not fear the people, but is interested in arousing them and calls on them to express their views and to take an active part in the war.

The national-liberation war in China has the full endorsement of the entire population; the aims of the war are identical as far as both the government and the people are concerned, and insofar as the war cannot end in victory without the participation of the people, the system of democratic centralism becomes necessary. The Northern campaign of 1927 was also a revolutionary war, and ended in victory thanks to the operation of democratic centralism.

Hence it follows if the aims of war directly express the interests of the people, then the more democratic the government, the more successful will the war be. Such a government has no need to fear the opposition of the population; on the contrary, it will receive their full support. The character of a war determines the relations between the govern-

ment and the people—this is a historical law.

BERTRAM: And so, what steps do you propose to take to put the new political system into life?

MAO TSE-TUNG: The key to this lies in the conclusion of a bloc between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party.

BERTRAM: Why?

MAO TSE-TUNG: During the last fifteen years the decisive factor in the political situation in China has been the relations between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. The collaboration between these parties in 1925-27 conditioned the success of the first revolution. The break between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party in 1927 led the country into an extremely difficult position, one that continued for ten years. We, however, were not responsible for the split. Compelled to fight against the oppression of the Kuomintang, we firmly held the glorious banner of the liberation of China.

A third stage has now been reached and, with a view to successfully beating off the forces of the Japanese aggressor, and to saving the country, both parties are obliged to collaborate on a definite platform. Thanks to the tireless efforts of our Party, this collaboration has at last been established. The point now is for the two parties, having accepted a common program and operating on the basis of it, to establish the new political system dealt with in the program.

BERTRAM: How will the collaboration between the two parties lead to the establishment of the new system?

MAO TSE-TUNG: We propose that the entire structure of the government and the military system be changed. Taking account of the critical situation, we have introduced a proposal to summon a provisional National Assembly. The election of the deputies to this Assembly should take place on the basis of Sun Yat-sen's principles put forward in 1924, *i.e.*, all the anti-Japanese parties, groups, military units, mass organizations and trading and business associations should be

represented in the National Assembly on a proportional basis.

The following points constitute the prerogatives of this Assembly, which is the supreme organ of state power: the determination of the policy of the salvation of the country, the adoption of the general principles of the Constitution and the formation of the government. We consider that a turning point has been reached in the anti-Japanese war we are waging such as demands the summoning, as rapidly as possible, of a National Assembly possessing power and expressing the will of the people, and that will completely change the political countenance of the country and lead it out of the condition of crisis that has developed. We are now engaged in negotiations with the Kuomintang on this question and hope to arrive at agreement with it.

BERTRAM: But does not the Communist Party stand for general elections?

MAO TSE-TUNG: Yes, we do, for only general elections give the fullest expression of the people's will. A provisional National Assembly is only a transitory form, and we have decided on this proposal in view of the fact that the present extraordinary situation does not provide the possibility of elections being carried through in the calm atmosphere, and the conditions do not now exist in which would be assured the carrying through of elections that fully express the will of the people.

It will be advisable in the present situation, with a view to giving some reflection at least of the will of the people, to summon a National Assembly, composed of representatives of political parties, military and mass people's organizations, on the basis of the proposals put forward in his day by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Such a method of elections is, of course, far different from the general elections we will aim at in the future. This method

is only a bridge to general elections, but in the given circumstances is the most suitable.

BERTRAM: Will the Kuomintang agree to this proposal?

MAO TSE-TUNG: The national crisis that has arisen is such a serious one that many far-sighted members of the Kuomintang support our proposal. Chiang Kai-shek has declared that he stands for democracy. Many public men of various circles, and military leaders of anti-Japanese units are also agreed with us. I consider that the Kuomintang has no grounds for turning down this proposal. If the Kuomintang accepts it, the Communist Party and the Kuomintang will begin close collaboration, and this will be the precondition for the prosperity of the state and the happiness of the people.

BERTRAM: But has not the national government announced a ban on the summoning of a National Assembly?

MAO TSE-TUNG: This ban is a correct one. It is on the National Assembly that the Kuomintang was preparing to summon. A National Assembly elected on the basis of Kuomintang principles would have no rights since the order of the elections absolutely fails to correspond to the will of the people; neither we nor other sections of society are agreed to the summoning of such a National Assembly. The provisional National Assembly we propose has nothing in common with the Assembly now banned. If the provisional National Assembly is called together, everything will appear in a new light, the necessary conditions will be created for the reorganization of the structure of the government, the reorganization of the army and the general mobilization of the people. Only then will a real turning point be reached in the anti-Japanese war of liberation.

The Criminal Maneuvers of the Spaak-De Man Group

BY A. TAMAREN

IN JANUARY, 1938, there was published in Brussels a new theoretical journal, *Cahiers Politiques*, the organ of the "Belgique Toujours" (Belgium Always) group, uniting several elements of the Catholic, liberal and Socialist Parties.

The official editor of the journal is the same De Bekker who several weeks ago in the columns of the *Independence Belge*, the reactionary paper close to former Premier Van Zeeland, raised the question of the need to ban the Communist Party and gave instructions to the Belgian General Confederation of Labor to do everything possible to prevent the affiliation of the Soviet trade unions to the I.F.T.U. (International Federation of Trade Unions).

The "political line" of the journal is expressed in the two words: "National-Socialism," i.e., *fascism*. Its basic principles are: authoritarian democracy, in other words, dictatorship; the limitation of the rights of Parliament; the strengthening of the executive power; the abolition of all connections whatsoever between the Parliamentary groups and the parties; the deprivation of the latter of the right to interfere in questions of the formation of governments; "district decentralization according to language differences"; the organization of an economic council; the system of masked corporatism. In the sphere of foreign policy: a campaign against the League of Nations and republican Spain, closer relations with the "Rome-Berlin axis" countries, i.e., complete endorsement of the policy pursued by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the "Socialist" Spaak.

The journal also contains the follow-

ing outline of the way to achieve this "political line":

"Insofar as unforeseen events do not demand the speeding up of such a political grouping (the establishment of a new Party) . . . therefore, the main thing today is to draw up a political line and to win to its support all those who now fulfil or are in a position to fulfil definite functions in the government, parties, press, professional groups, etc."

In other words, the "penetration" into the B.L.P. (Belgian Labor Party) and the C.G.T. (General Confederation of Labor), the downfall of the organizations of the Belgian working class and the establishment of their "National-Socialist" Party, the "Belgique Toujours."

On the pages of the *Cahiers Politiques*, side by side with Catholics and Liberals there are to be seen the writings of such figures as Spaak, and certain other members of the B.L.P. and the C.G.T. such as Jef Rens, a close friend of the Trotskyite agent provocateur Victor Serge. And this despite the special decision adopted by the leadership of the Belgian Labor Party regarding discipline, in which there are a number of paragraphs prohibiting members of the Belgian Labor Party from collaborating in the "Belgique Toujours," even in cases where this group hides behind another name. Nevertheless Spaak, De Man and Co., who demand the observation of party decisions when it is a question of opposing the united front with the Communists, themselves make a mockery of party discipline. They prohibit B.L.P. members from speaking at meetings of

solidarity with republican Spain, but themselves collaborate with Franco's friends. They do not want unity from the Left, but operate it from the Right.

The appearance of the journal and the participation in it of several leading members of the B.L.P. have given rise to serious disquiet in the ranks of the Labor Party.

Max Buset, a member of the General Council of the Belgian Labor Party, official reporter at the last Party congress on the question of the united front with the Communists, had an article in the *Peuple*, the central organ of the Socialist Party, in which he qualified the "political line" elaborated in the journal as "political balderdash" and raised the question as to whether Socialists could collaborate in such a journal and whether the party should not devote serious attention to this danger from the Right.

Several days later, on January 7, 1938, Leon Delvigne, in a leading article in the same *Peuple*, wrote:

"Without repeating the estimation given by our Comrade Max Buset in the *Vie Socialiste*, an estimation supported, according to my opinion, by the huge majority of Socialists, I wish to stress the point that under the excuse of rendering better service to the common interests, the initiative of Raymond De Bekker and his friends is an attempt to secure that a definite number of our party members sacrifice the interests of the class struggle to the 'policy of national alliance.' . . .

"And I am firmly convinced that this is the same aim as the one pursued consciously or unconsciously by our friend Spaak."

An analogous though more careful position was adopted by the Chairman of the Belgian Labor Party, Vanderveelde, who although condemning the position of constant class collaboration, wrote the following about Spaak and De Man:

"One may be or not be a Socialist, but when you say that you are one, you should at least know what obligations it places on you."

The tremendous discontent aroused among the Socialist masses by the col-

laboration of certain "Socialists" in the *Cahiers Politiques* led to the Bureau of the General Council of the B.L.P. being compelled to discuss this question and to adopt a resolution in which party members are told of the "inconveniences that may arise as the result of the publication in press organs of other parties, of articles giving rise to polemics among Socialists."

Spaak and Co., perfectly well aware of the attitude of the very wide masses, made a "conciliatory gesture" to the B.L.P. by adopting the text of this decision. But this is only a repetition of an old maneuver, foreseen in advance by certain more farsighted members of the Socialist Party.

Even before the meeting of the Bureau of the B.L.P. General Council, the Socialist Deputy Saint wrote the following in the *Wallonie*:

"We are sincerely sorry about those 'Socialists' who collaborate in it (*Cahiers Politiques*). We are sorry for them but shall carry on an energetic struggle against them. This equivocal situation has lasted too long.

"Whatever they may do now, it is well known that certain Socialists are to an ever growing extent orientating themselves on the aims outlined in the *Cahiers Politiques*.

"If tomorrow these comrades are forbidden, on the plea of the maintenance of discipline, to participate in any way whatsoever in this journal, we shall see how they will defend their ideas inside the party. . . . Harm has been done! We want to be able to correct the harm done to socialism."

And in actual fact, the Spaak group, while agreeing in words with the decisions adopted by the party, will continue its "line." That has been the case in the sphere of foreign policy when the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the "Socialist" Spaak, in the teeth of the resolutions of B.L.P. congresses regarding solidarity with republican Spain, regarding the collapse of the policy of so-called non-intervention, has continued to pursue a policy actually directed against

the lawful government of Spain. It will be sufficient to point to such facts as the delay in the reception of the new Spanish ambassador, Ossorio y Gallardo, the notorious affair of the "Fifth Column" agent and spy, Baron Borchgrave, killed in Madrid, on account of whom the Belgian government demanded financial compensation to the extent of a million pesetas; the deportation from Brussels of two Spanish Catholics who had come to tell the truth about Spain; the systematic, incessant arrests of Belgian International Brigade volunteers; the Germano-Belgian agreement providing strategic and diplomatic advantages to German fascism; Spaak's speech at the 100th session of the League of Nations.

The Spaaks and De Mans are pursuing a policy of agreement with the agents of Belgian finance capital. They have their own "political line" which differs from the line of the Belgian Labor Party. It is not for nothing that several Belgian newspapers have written that the spiritual "father" of the "political balderdash" outlined in the *Cahiers Politiques* is none other than De Man.

The "National Socialists" intend to continue their disruptive work in the ranks of the Belgian Labor Party. It is not a question merely of "political balderdash" as Buset wrote, and therefore it is not sufficient to expose it, in order later to "become reconciled" to it. An end must be put to the activities of those who collaborate with the editorial board of this paper and undermine the strength and power of the B.L.P.

Many Socialist workers have every reason for raising the question as to why Vandervelde, Huysmans, De Brouckere, and other members of the Labor Party who come forward as supporters of unity do not prevent the disruptive work of the Spaak-De Man group in their organizations, and as to whether they do not think that the time has come to put an end to the "penetration" into the B.L.P. and the C.G.T. of agents of the "Belgique Toujours" before it is too late. The problem cannot be solved, as Van-

dervelde asserts, by the publication of a theoretical organ by the Labor Party.

All those who understand the seriousness of the present situation, who see the danger threatening peace and democracy, must act with all resolution against these Spaaks and De Mans, bearing in mind the following statement made about Spaak by the reactionary *Libre Belgique*:

"In the person of P. G. Spaak we have our Doriot, the only difference being that whereas French 'National Socialism' has cut itself adrift from the Marxist community, our 'National Socialism' and its follower De Man continue to interest themselves in the party, operating inside it, and making clever use of it in their own interests."

The world is faced with the danger of a new world war. The policy of the "National Socialist" group inside the B.L.P. directed toward preventing the establishment of working class unity and the unification of all the democratic forces in the country, as well as their activity in the government, play into the hands of fascism, connive at German and Italian aggression.

The Communist Party of Belgium on its part must draw the corresponding conclusions. Resolute resistance must be offered to Rexism, the agency of Hitler in Belgium, now raising its head. The united anti-fascist front that arose spontaneously at one of the last sessions of Parliament against the provocative intrigues of the Rexist deputies, and embracing Communists, Socialists and liberals, showed that it is not only necessary, but also possible, on a national scale. The Communists, fighting for the establishment of unity from below, and striving to secure acceptance into the B.L.P. as an autonomous organization, must, together with the tremendous majority of the membership of the Belgian Labor Party, expose the criminal maneuvers of the De Man-Spaak group that is threatening the existence of the biggest organizations of the Belgian working class.

Expose the Dark Machinations of the Fascist Secret Service

BY C. BOBROVSKAYA

THE sharper the struggle between the two worlds, the wider the scale on which the viper of provocation sets its nests, and the more refined are the methods with which the hell's kitchens of the fascist secret services concoct their poisonous fare. The secret police employ the services of traitors, degenerate Trotskyite elements, and systematically attempt to disrupt the struggle of the Communists and anti-fascists. A tense daily struggle is necessary against this cancerous evil.

A careful study must be made of every link in the foul chain of provocations whereby the fascist secret services endeavor to enmesh entire organizations of Communists and anti-fascists, as well as individual active members of these organizations. We must learn to uncover the cunning methods of work of the enemy, using concrete examples to expose every attempt at provocation.

THE GESTAPO

This "firm," which has its branches all over, carries on its work on an extensive scale. Here they "work" without regard to means, expenditure, time or distance and, as is clear from the facts quoted below, pay great attention to enabling Gestapo agents to penetrate among German political emigrés in different countries. Use is made for provocative ends of the desire of all anti-fascists for the united fighting front against fascism.

First example. The Gestapo makes an agreement with its kindred fascist organization, the Henlein Party in Czecho-

slovakia. A member of this organization, T., is given the task of "moving to the Left," organizing an opposition, and refusing to obey discipline so as to get expelled from the Henlein Party.

After the "expulsion" the "victim," in fulfilment of the task set by the Gestapo, links up with Czech Social-Democrats. He convinces them that he has completely broken with Henlein, that he completely accepts the program and tactics of the Social-Democratic Party, with which henceforth he has everything in common, and that therefore he would like formally to enter its ranks.

Shortly afterwards he is accepted into the Socialist Party. This new-fangled "Social-Democrat" displays great interest in questions of the united front, and seems to be particularly active in this regard. After a time he insists on the need for establishing contacts primarily with German Communists, who are "more decent than the Czechs" and secures that the united front negotiations with the German Communists are entrusted to him.

During the negotiations with the Communists, this "representative" of the Social-Democratic Party informs them that he is in addition in contact with certain Catholics living in Germany, who are also interested in united front questions, and that this work could be developed, etc.

The "representative" of the Social-Democratic Party displays an absolutely extraordinary anxiety to secure the joint organization of the transport of literature of the border. It turns out "quite

accidentally" that he has a woman friend who lives in an isolated cottage right close to the border, that it ought to be possible for messengers engaged in the transport of literature to stop at this secluded spot, that in case of need the messengers could wait there, stop the night, etc. In a word, everything seems to fit in automatically.

This inordinate readiness, excessive haste could not fail to arouse a certain suspicion among the comrades, who began to make an attentive examination of this individual. They asked him searching questions and when he lost his patience, this luckless agent of the Gestapo in reply to a blunt question put to him as to whether he was still a supporter of Henlein, suddenly burst out: "Go to the devil, I don't want to be anything at all."

It goes without saying that the cottage on the border so kindly offered by the provocateur was supplied with both radio and telephone, had long been a favored haunt of the Gestapo, that the owner of this house was a Gestapo agent, and that altogether the Gestapo ruled the roost there.

A second example shows another type of the Gestapo's work, calculated for a longer period of time.

The Gestapo sends a certain G., expelled from the Communist Party of Germany in 1933, abroad. It sets him the task of linking up with German Communist emigrés, leading officials living abroad. By reason of his past, G. finds it difficult to establish immediate contact with the Communists, and so he is instructed to go a round-about way, to take time about it.

On his arrival abroad, he passes himself off as an anti-fascist who has been through the mill in Germany and has been compelled to emigrate because of Gestapo persecution. He appeals to the Matteotti Fund for help. He receives this aid and as a fully-fledged political emigré begins to interest himself in the trade union movement of the country in question, makes fiery revolutionary

speeches at general trade union meetings, makes personal contacts with leading trade union officials, and gradually himself worms his way into the trade union leadership.

Thus, step by step, over a period of *eighteen months*, this Gestapo agent makes his way into the leadership.

Having become an important figure, the provocateur is already approaching the fulfilment of the mission allotted to him by the Gestapo. The trade unions empower him to undertake united front negotiations with leading officials of the German Communist Party. Unexpectedly for himself, however, the provocateur was recognized and the "whole affair" fell through not only as far as he himself was concerned, but also as far as concerned two other provocateurs connected with him, of whom one was operating in the Ruhr basin, and the other in another big industrial center.

Third example. The Gestapo dispatches three of its young hirelings abroad, and instructs one of them to worm his way into the confidence of Catholic emigrés, the second to win the confidence of the Social-Democrats, and the third, of the Communists. Each of them is to make use for espionage and provocative purposes of the strivings of the anti-fascists for the united front.

The provocateur sent to the Catholics succeeds without any particular difficulty in getting himself established among them. The second Gestapo agent meets with some difficulties, but still is not without success in penetrating among the Social-Democrats. He mentions the names of several people with whom he was supposed to be connected in Germany, and is believed.

The third provocateur meets with defeat. As soon as he comes to the Communists, he immediately demands that he be given Party materials allegedly for dispatch to Germany. In reply to a question as to the name of the person whom he wants to supply with these materials, he gives a fictitious address. After a careful check is made, it becomes

possible to expose the provocative role of the united front "enthusiast" in question, and through him the two provocateurs who have crept into the ranks of the Catholics and Social-Democrats.

The following fact is also not without interest as an illustration of how carefully the Gestapo guards its agents against discovery.

On one occasion the Gestapo succeeded, after beating up an arrested Communist in jail for five months, in forcing him to agree to become a Gestapo agent. During the whole of this time he was kept in the strictest isolation. The Party organization knew nothing of his arrest and only presumed that he had been arrested.

The Gestapo on enrolling an agent is interested in his appearing to be "pure" to those who know him, for if he emerges from prison, his friends will be afraid to make immediate use of him. And so in this case the Gestapo resorted to the following trickery. Before releasing him they dispatched the prisoner for several days to a tuberculosis sanatorium, and introduced him to the head doctor, a fascist. This individual acquainted him with the routine and the locality of the sanatorium, after which he was released with a document stating that "Mr. N. (name, etc., according to his passport) received treatment in the above sanatorium between May and September for two broken ribs and injured lungs following on an automobile accident. The expenses for treatment have been covered by the head doctor, the one to blame for the motor accident." The signature of the head doctor, and the seal of the sanatorium follow.

However fine, at first glance, the trickery of the Gestapo, the Party soon exposed this agent as well, because from the very first steps of his provocative activity, he began to display great nervousness, get mixed up in his stories about his stay in the sanatorium, so that in the long run the only thing that could be believed about him was that he had a broken rib. But neither the automobile nor Hitler's jail thugs had broken the

ribs of their future colleague.

In all the examples above quoted the provocateurs were in the last analysis exposed, thanks to the vigilance displayed by the Communists. Nor were these provocateurs helped by the Gestapo instructions for agents sent abroad. Among other things these instructions contain the following: "On your arrival abroad you must count on not being immediately accepted by your people, and on having to hang around for weeks and perhaps months.

"You must pay careful attention to ensure that there are no contradictions in the statements you make; you must not display any signs of being upset, even when you see that things are not going well. You must not pester people, must not hurry to be given work to do, etc."

The Gestapo has need of many "cadres" as the following little table shows.

In a period of three months, Gestapo agents were exposed as follows: Prague, 17; Zurich, 5; Belgium, 10; Amsterdam, 6; Copenhagen, 3. In all a total of 41.

They were all sent by the Gestapo to establish contacts with leading officials of the Communist Party of Germany; they all of them made efforts to be sent back to Germany as Party instructors.

Not only does the Gestapo supply its "cadres" with instructions, not only are the most qualified of them given a theoretical examination in schools specially designed for provocateurs, but they also undergo "practical training." Thus, for instance, an individual makes his appearance abroad from Germany, having crossed the border illegally; he comes to the house of some comrades living in emigration and informs them that he has made a successful escape from Gestapo persecution, gives some general information about himself, and makes an arrangement to meet the comrades the next day so as to have a more detailed conversation with them. When the "next day" comes, there is no trace left of this "emigre." He was simply a Gestapo agent on trial, undergoing a practical

examination, and had returned to the lap of the Gestapo.

Of the foul methods employed by the Gestapo to force arrested people to make treacherous admissions, we will draw attention here to a case, exceptional for its effrontery, that took place recently.

After several months of severe prison treatment, beatings up and savage ribaldry over the enfeebled body and spirit of a prisoner, they resorted to the following experiment. They called in his fiancée and told her that the prisoner would be released if he gave a certain address, that there was no "compromise" in this, that in any case the Gestapo knew it but that all that was important for the Gestapo was to establish "how far this person is capable of speaking the truth," etc.

Having thus entangled the girl and received her agreement to persuade her fiancé to make this "compromise," they arranged a meeting between them. But this was no ordinary prison visit with

witnesses present. She was admitted to the prison cell. The meeting lasted two hours.

The aim of the Gestapo was achieved; the required address was secured, the treachery was accomplished.

Vigilance on the part of Communists is necessary in any sphere of activity, and in every situation.

The methods of provocation employed by the doomed enemy are very dangerous weapons drawn from the arsenal of extreme measures. It must be borne in mind that the more hopeless the position of the enemy, the more eagerly "will they seize hold of the most desperate methods of struggle, as the last resort of people doomed to destruction."

Unflagging attention, a sharp eye, complete calm without excessive nervousness and suspicion, ever on guard—such are the qualities which will enable the Communist and anti-fascist to recognize and expose provocation in good time, however cunningly it is concocted.

Hangmen of the Spanish People

BY M. FRED

ANTONIO RUIZ VILAPLANA, the author of the book *I Testify*,* was until recently a court official in Burgos.

Among the fascists who raised the revolt against the Republican government, the Nationalist Ruiz Vilaplana was considered to be one of their own people. On the author's own admission he sincerely greeted the rebel monarchist General Mola.

Ruiz Vilaplana worked a whole year in the fascist camp as representative of the Court Authorities. The horrors which he witnessed throughout the whole of this awful year compelled him to flee from the territory occupied by the rebels. In his book he gives a picture of what he saw in the fascist camp.

Vilaplana's book is an indictment against the bloody regime of fascist terror, against the interventionists and the rebels—the hangmen of the Spanish people.

* * *

The town of Burgos, the place of the events described by the author, is in an outlying provincial district. In this town of officials and priests there was no developed industry, and consequently no working class or sharp class struggle as in other towns of Spain.

The military fascist plotters rapidly won victory in this town, but this did not prevent the "victors" on the day after their bloodless revolt from beginning an unrestrained terror, called a "social purge" by the fascist press.

Young fascist hooligans rode about the streets of the town in automobiles

and meted out their vengeance on all who gave rise to the slightest suspicion.

Close by the post office, the author relates, an automobile full of young fascist hooligans came up alongside a worker. "Are you a Socialist?" they cried. "Long live the Republic!" replied the worker. Shots were heard. The noise of the departing automobile. On the roadway the corpse of the worker.

The rebels made use of membership lists to find out all who formerly belonged to Left organizations or paid membership dues to the local People's Palace. Not only in Burgos, but in all the surrounding villages, according to the author, these people were ruthlessly shot. None of the relatives of the corpses, lying about all over the place, dared to identify them.

Ex-Sergeant Quintana saw a poor man shot in front of his house for failing to give a quick enough reply to the fascist greetings of some young bloods. He thereupon ran off to hide in his mother's house. For his "crime" the sergeant was shot on the spot before his mother's eyes. Placido, Secretary of the local Left Republican Group, hid for about a week in a haystack. At last, tormented with hunger, he came out and surrendered to the authorities. He was shot.

The author of the book, who as a court official had to establish the identity of corpses found, describes one horrible scene after another. Here, for example, is the corpse of a poor Sasamona peasant found near the graveyard. In his pocket is a piece of paper on which the following few words are written in pencil:

*Antonio Ruiz Vilaplana, *I Testify*, Paris, 1937.

"Warn the comrades to get away quickly. First we are beaten up with cudgels, then killed. Their cause is a rotten one and that is why they are so cruel."

Six kilometers away from Burgos, near a monastery, the author identified the corpses of the Elder of a nearby village and his two sons, twelve and fifteen years old.

Near a silk factory, the very much mutilated corpse of a well-known foreman was found. In his pocket was a spoon which showed he had been taken from prison.

A 77-year old, half-witted shoemaker lived in Burgos. When the author learned that he had been arrested, he directed the attention of the authorities to the futility of this arrest, and was promised that the old man would be released. Fifteen days later, the author identified an unburied corpse to be that of the old man. He had been shot.

"Official" shootings were practised on the military training ground. Once the author was visited by a member of the Military Court who asked him not to make public the fact of the shooting of a railwayman and his young daughter, a well-known beauty, who had been violated by the fascists before being killed. The officer took all the materials out of the hands of the civil authorities so as to cover up the traces, for this was in the interest of the "valiant national movement."

The author of the book was called upon to identify seven corpses of "big fish," as those present expressed themselves. The corpses lay at a hill on the road to Valladolid. The corpses were hardly buried and dogs began to uncover them and drag about the hands of the corpses sticking out of the ground. Shepherds noticed this and reported it to the legal authorities. "Work should never be done in a hurry," said one of the Jesuits accompanying the court commission. "That, gentlemen, is how it should not be done. If a thing is done, it should be done well, without hurry. Otherwise you have later to be troubled, gentlemen."

The "big fish" turned out to be the corpses of General Batet, Colonel Mena, Lieutenant-Colonel Saracibar, Captain Marin, two local merchants and two railway workers. The Jesuit explained why they had been shot: the officers for having been Republicans; the two merchants for being members of the I.L.D., from which according to the Jesuit "they each regularly received five thousand pesetas every month," and the workers simply because they were "weeds."

Despite the fact that the names of the dead men were quite well known to everybody, nobody dared officially to identify the corpses. And that was how they were entered in the court records: "Unidentified corpses."

When the terror reached its height, and every night brought new horrors to the families of the working class and middle class population, when the fields and roads were covered with numberless corpses, one of the high authorities issued the instruction: "Enough of these spectacles of death! Let the Law Courts work with greater cunning, with less noise, and without damage to the valiant national movement!"

After this instruction less "finds" were to be met with on the roads and in the fields. On the other hand, in every little village and hamlet, big pits were dug like the one in Rodillo or in Estepar. In each town outlying glades were used to bury the numberless victims of the fascist terror.

"In Burgos, it was Brujula Hill, on the road to Vitoria that became such a spot. Hundreds of victims were buried in this hill. As one passes by one closes one's eyes and turns one's head away. In the quiet of the day it seems that the cries of hundreds of innocently ruined lives have not died down in these numberless silent hills. General Mola who in May, 1937, was on his way from the Northern front to Burgos aboard a German airplane, also met his death on Brujula Hill."

In Burgos there are two prisons—a new prison designed for nine hundred prisoners, but there were as many as three thousand prisoners quartered in it

daily for months on end; and the old jail of Santa Agulda, built for two hundred prisoners, where there are on an average 1,000 prisoners.

Not to mention the horribly unsanitary conditions existing in these jails, the author, whose duties led him to visit them, tells of the mortal horror experienced by prisoners in anticipation of being led out to be shot. There were many cases of prisoners being taken out to be shot without any charge whatsoever having been preferred against them. Every morning, at dawn, people doomed to death were taken out and handed over to people in possession of special lists.

This is how the author of the book describes the shooting of Miranda's sixty-six railway men:

"The condemned were told that their execution would soon take place, but it was postponed several times. It is difficult to describe the torment of the condemned. Extra guards had to be placed on them. Finally, at 4 o'clock one morning they were taken out in groups of twenty. In the prison yard, forty men armed with rifles were lined up near a deep, open pit. The condemned were tied together, driven into the pit and shot there. The corpses of the first lot were then removed to make way for the next. The new group walked in the blood of their comrades only just executed. The last group which was somewhat bigger than the previous one caused the jailers a great amount of trouble. . . ."

In Burgos there lived a poet and composer called Antonio Jose. He loved art and was fanatically fond of studying and gathering folk music. Antonio Jose lived an absolutely isolated life, far from all politics. But his love for music had brought him to the local People's Palace, where he established a folk music choir made up of miners and railwaymen. In the very first days of the military revolt, Antonio Jose was arrested and flung into jail. The author of the book tried to bring about his release but without success. Antonio Jose was shot and buried in Estepar, a place of as evil fame as Brujula Hill.

* * *

In the chapter about justice, the author writes about the justice and legislation existing prior to the military fascist revolt; about the new legislation and "justice" that came into force after the military fascist revolt on the territory occupied by the rebels and interventionists, and about secret trials.

As regards the old laws and court procedure with its professional judges, counsel for the prosecution and defense, little account is taken of this on the territory in the hands of the rebels. As regards the court procedure adopted on this territory, the author reports that when speaking of the decree published in the official bulletin issued in Burgos, the original draft decree contained the following phrase: "It is not obligatory for the testimony of the accused to be heard before sentence is promulgated."

A German lawyer, attached as adviser to the fascist court authorities, asked that this phrase be removed from the draft decree. Very characteristic were the motives advanced, in the shape of a rhetorical question, by the lawyer from Hitler Germany now "legislator" over another people. Said the "legislator" to those who had drafted the decree: "What inconvenience, gentlemen, do you find in listening to the testimony of the accused?" After such a question, the Jesuits have also something to learn from the Hitlerite lawyer. This lawyer from fascist Germany had had a great amount of practice, lasting almost five years, in German courts where it is not considered inconvenient to listen to the accused, for the sentences are determined long before the session of the "independent" court. And it is idle for the author of the book to imagine that the German lawyer was not aware of the practice widespread in Burgos of passing sentence . . . after the accused has been executed. The passing of sentence on the sons of the people *before trial* (as in Germany) or *after execution* (as in Burgos) does not alter things from the point of view of fascist legislation.

Further, the author of the book ac-

quaints us with one of the sessions of the court in Burgos. The chairman of the court was an old colonel, his assistant, an army captain well-known as a monarchist. The accused were about thirty inhabitants of the town of Mirando, and included five women. One of the women held a babe in her arms which cried without a stop. Two of the women were the wives of two of the accused. The other three had been arrested in place of their absent husbands. They were in the dock "as representatives." The prosecuting counsel did not take the trouble to establish how far each of the accused individually was guilty but demanded the death sentence for all without exception. And the fascist court "satisfied the petition" of the "prosecuting counsel."

The third type of "justice," namely, secret trials, constitutes a horrible torment for the people. These are secret shootings, without trial and investigation, practised on a wide scale by the fascist organizations. In all the organizations that took part in the revolt against the lawful government, whether in the Phalanx, Requete, or the Army Officers' League, etc., a considerable role was played by the priests who considered that "their time had come" to settle accounts with the atheists. And they did so—by shooting the working people without trial or investigation.

The extent of the secret extermination of the people may be judged by a circular by the County Sanitary Inspection issued on August 18, 1936. In this circular, the authorities are asked to keep a watch "so as to ensure that to avoid the spread of infection, corpses abandoned in the open fields are buried as far away as possible from water springs, wells, and rivers." This was in August, 1936! !

In the book *I Testify*, the author shows how the lowest passions were let loose of the monarchist-fascist clerical coalition which hate the Spanish people and their culture, make a mockery of their lives and property and wipe out with fire and

sword everyone who stands in their way or resists the accession to power on earth of the dark days of medievalism.

* * *

In the second part of the book, the author tries to sum up his observations. In the portrait gallery of the chief hangers-on we see the cretin Franco and those who surround him. After the death of Calvo Sotello, Sanjurjo, Goded, the son of Primo de Rivera, and Mola, the monarchist-fascist movement brought to the forefront the well-known nincompoop, General Franco.

None of the basic forces in the reactionary camp is satisfied with Franco as supreme leader. The monarchists and clergy cannot forget the death of their protegee, General Mola. The Phalangists consider themselves bitterly deceived in the hopes they placed on Franco. The army officers also hate Franco. They see themselves in the mirror of their "commander-in-chief" who plays the miserable role of lackey to German and Italian fascism. Even the young fascist bloods of the Spanish Phalanx now linked with the monarchist Requete organization into the "United Party of Frankists" possess sufficient relics of national pride to be indignant at the unexampled violence of the Italian legionnaires who are so boastful behind the lines but cowardly at the front. The Spaniard in the camp of Franco feels profoundly insulted at every step at the fact that the Italian and German fascists rule the roost in Spain as though in their own colonies.

Franco is aware that he is hated not only by the people in general but also by his closest associates. He only trusts Moroccans to guard him. Franco also sees that his Italian and German masters, taking account of his unpopularity and isolation, are not above seeking out a new "leader" behind whom to cover their colonial rule. If everything went exclusively according to the way the Italians want it, without taking account of the second partner, the German fascists, the "leader" would long ago have been the charlatan and obscene creature, Queipo

de Llano, who knows how to tickle the fancy of his listeners by his drunken blather in front of the microphone in Seville.

The position of General Franco calls to mind the position of the "monarch" of Manchukuo, Pu Yi. Certain local capitalist circles connected with British capital are seeking new paths for Franco in a possible orientation on England, in order to withdraw the "national" movement from the role of miserable and insignificant appendage of the colonial domination in Spain of Italy and Germany. The Duke of Alba, one of the biggest capitalists of old Spain, promises British capital that British investments in Spain will be preserved. Hence a new life buoy for the hopes of the drowning traitor Franco.

Franco's troops are becoming unreliable. The last remnants of the ideological and moral meaning of their struggle against the Spanish people have vanished. The military organization is to a given point maintained on blind subordination, religious sermons, merciless terror and, finally, on fear of the all-powerful interventionists who have flooded half the country with their hundreds of thousands of soldiers, spies, secret service agents and hangmen.

Despite this huge machine of alien violence, despite the ruthless terror, despite the "victories," the Franco camp and

with it the entire camp of out-and-out reaction on the territory of rebel Spain constitute a hopelessly weak and thoroughly rotten force which only the armies of intervention keep from falling to pieces altogether and from the wrath of the people.

The Spanish Republic and with it the entire Spanish people must win. If British democracy now allows its government to give a helping hand to the Franco regime, doomed to destruction, a regime strong only in its unparalleled terror, then the result of this support will only be that new hecatombs of victims will rise, but Franco's chances of victory over the Spanish people will not be improved. The last word always belongs to the people.

* * *

The book of the court official Antonio Ruiz Vilaplana is the testimony of an eye-witness. What is required of a witness' testimony is that it be truthful. This book answers this demand as a film on which is recorded everything that actually took place. If we multiply the facts concerning one town, as reported by the eye-witness Ruiz Vilaplana, by the number of towns and villages now under the rule of Franco, we get some idea of the real extent of the fascist terror in Spain and of the hangmen of the Spanish people.

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